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ABSTRACT

This publication presents the proceedings of a forum held at the U.S. State Department (Washington, D.C.) on the influence of international cultural opportunities in the new world order taking shape since the demise of Communism. The speeches, introductions, and forum discussions are offered in the order that they occurred over the course of a day. The opening remarks featured First Lady Barbara Bush; Donald J. Hall, Chairman of the President's Committee on the Arts and Humanities; and James H. Evans, Chairman of the International Advisory Group. Then, James H. Billington, Librarian of Congress, discussed "The Importance of the Intellectual and Cultural Dimension in the Emerging Social Order" and Thomas H. Kean, President of Drew University, discussed "Increasing International Understanding through Fellowships, University Linkages and Cultural Exchanges." A panel discussion, moderated by Lynne V. Cheney, considered the private sector and cultural diplomacy through leadership and international experience. The panel featured Henry E. Catto, Richard Francis, Henry Kaufman, Luis Monreal, and George Soros. A second panel, moderated by John E. Frohnmayer, discussed the challenges to American cultural institutions from global changes and featured Maya Angelou, Donald M. Kendall, William H. Luers, Benno C. Schmidt, and James D. Wolfensohn. Next of the agenda was a presentation by David T. Kearns, Deputy Secretary of the U.S. Department of Education. His topic was "Education: Preparation for the Challenges of the New World Order." An evening program included a keynote address by Mexican President Carlos Salinas de Gortari. Included are biographical sketches of speakers, a list of participants, and lists of sponsoring agencies and organizations. (JB)

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President's Committee on the Arts
and the Humanities

THE NEW WORLD ORDER:
NAL CULTURAL OPPORTUNITIES
ND THE PRIVATE SECTOR

U.S. Department of State
December [illegible], 1991

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MRS. GEORGE BUSH
Honorary Chairman of the President's Committee on the Arts and the Humanities

It is an enormous pleasure to welcome you to Washington and to this important forum, not just on behalf of the President, but in my official capacity as honorary chairman of his Committee on the Arts and the Humanities.

I absolutely agree with whoever it was who said that culture makes our world a place we can live in. And thank goodness you all agree too.

Being in this wonderful room with you makes me feel like I have stepped back in time. It looks like a little United Nations and brings to mind the days when George was with the United Nations and we lived in New York. New York isn't the only place where culture flourishes, as all of you well know. But being at the U.N. really helped me understand the global implications of cultural exchange, especially the importance of helping our young people live with greater mutual understanding and appreciation in this rapidly changing and shrinking world of ours. And nothing can give greater understanding of a people or a society than the arts.

Anyone who doesn't believe that should have been at the White House Wednesday afternoon. We invited several hundred school children from the Washington area to attend a Christmas party. They were absolutely enthralled by the entertainment, a Russian folk music group that performed traditional songs and dances. The children were tapping their feet and clapping their hands. The sword dance was an enormous hit. They were riveted.

At that moment, even as tremendous changes were sweeping the Soviet Union, the arts were bridging the gap between our two great countries. Those talented Russian singers and dancers were introducing American children to a different culture half a world away.

This could be said about every scholar, writer, painter, actor, dancer, and musician. They all help bridge the gaps. The arts and humanities are the heart of all culture. As someone once said, they are the signature of civilization, and we all must defend, and protect, and preserve them. And that is what you are doing, each and every one of you private sector leaders who is willing to join in supporting international programs in the arts and humanities.

Franklin Roosevelt once said, "The arts cannot thrive except where men are free to be themselves. The conditions for democracy and for art are one and the same." That is why what you do here today on behalf of the education of our young people will mean so much to people everywhere.

Our world needs genuine cultural leadership, and that will depend upon the work of leaders like you.

DONALD J. HALL
Chairman of the President's Committee on the Arts and the Humanities

Chairman of the Board of Hallmark Cards, Inc.

The opportunities for cultural and educational exchanges have never been greater.

Good morning, I would like to welcome you on behalf of the President's Committee on the Arts and the Humanities, and also on behalf of our partner in this forum, the Institute for International Education. We are delighted with the turnout and thank the State Department for their marvelous hospitality.

I would like to take a few minutes to tell you about the President's Committee on the Arts and the Humanities. The President's Committee was formed in 1982 to encourage greater private support for the arts and the humanities. Through our meetings and publications we advocate the value of cultural activities. We attempt to demonstrate that these pursuits are vital to the well-being of the United States. One of the ways the President's Committee accomplishes its goals is through public forums devoted to cultural issues. Today's meeting is a premier example.

While conceiving this project we were told by several major international organizations that the demands for their services had never been greater. We began formulating this program against a backdrop of rapid international change. The Berlin Wall was coming down; democratization was proceeding throughout Eastern Europe; and the economic unification of Western Europe was under way. There were also changes of immense importance under way in the Near East, the Far East, Africa, South America, and Latin America.

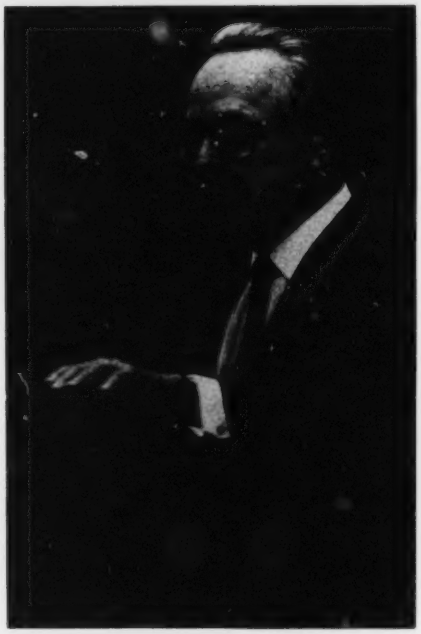
Ironically, despite the fact that the opportunities for cultural and educational exchanges had never been greater, the resources needed to seize this moment were not present and there seemed to be no plan to develop them. It became apparent that someone must ask how greater private support could be mobilized to help American institutions respond to these unprecedented opportunities.

Our good fortune was to associate with the Institute of International Education. The result of that collaboration is today's agenda. As you can see, we prevailed upon a number of opinion leaders in the public and private sectors to share the reasons why they find international cultural and educational ventures of vital importance. We thank each of them for their time and their thoughts, and we thank each of you for joining us.

I would also like to express a personal thanks to the members of the President's Committee on the Arts and the Humanities. Many are with us today, and I am delighted about that. We are also deeply indebted to Diane Paton and the staff of the President's Committee for their work in organizing this effort.

In addition, I would like to state my appreciation to the underwriters of today's program, whose financial assistance made it all possible.

I would like to give a special welcome to the head of our partner organization, the



JAMES H. EVANS
Chairman of the
International Advisory Group

Former Chairman of the Board of Union Pacific Corporation

Our students must be prepared for the demands of a global economy.

Institute of International Education. We are so pleased that Henry Kaufman, chairman of the IIE and president of Henry Kaufman and Company, is with us today.

It is now my great pleasure to introduce James Evans, who is on the board of IIE and has been our guide and the chairman of the distinguished advisory group that has planned and implemented this project.

Jim was chief executive officer of the Union Pacific Corporation, but those of us who have worked with him know that Jim wears many hats besides his engineer's cap. He is a trustee of the University of Chicago and a friend of numerous institutions of higher learning and the arts. He currently serves as Chairman of the Board of the Central Park Conservancy.

Jim Evans has provided wonderful leadership to this project for over twelve months now, and it is a pleasure for me to turn the proceedings over to him.

It has been a great joy to be involved in this effort. The Advisory Group was a hard-charging group. They kept all of us on our toes as we developed today's program.

We have a full agenda, but before I introduce our first speaker I want to take a few minutes to talk about the reasons that you have been invited here, in particular to explain why the Institute of International Education is functioning as co-host with the President's Committee in sponsoring this event.

The IIE is the largest and certainly one of the oldest private international exchange organizations in the nation. This year it is administering exchanges, including the Fulbright and Hubert Humphrey Programs, which involve over 10,000 men and women from 165 nations.

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The IIE can trace its origins to the days just after the first world war, when a group of American educators created it in the hopes of improving international understanding and thereby lessening the possibilities for international conflicts.

Today this mission is just as important as it has ever been. The Institute is pleased that it no longer is the single agency concerned with such issues. In this audience today, there are leaders and representatives of scores of organizations in the arts and the humanities that conduct or promote international cultural programs.

On behalf of the IIE, the President's Committee, and our distinguished advisory board, I am therefore delighted to welcome you officially.

I also want to emphasize what Don Hall said earlier about the importance of the meeting itself. We stand at a historic crossroads with the prospect of a new international order based on the rule of law and free markets, and this is one of the most exciting developments imaginable.

Yet, at the same time, the United States faces one of its greatest economic challenges. We face increased competition from abroad at a time when our own industrial base needs revitalization.

Our schools must improve and our students need to be prepared for the demands of a global economy. These concerns are not new. Scarcely a decade ago another Presidential commission issued a stern report on the failure of the American educational system to impart basic information to American students about their culture, history, and the geography of this nation and of other nations.

In the decade since that report was issued we have made some real progress in improving that situation. The nation's governors have made educational reform a commitment, and President Bush has set some tough but important goals for us to achieve by the year 2000.

I think it is fair to say that we now have a national consensus about the need to improve our schools and to prepare our students for the challenges ahead. One of our purposes this morning is to ensure that the role of the arts and the humanities in this broad educational effort is not forgotten. We believe the arts and humanities are essential parts of any effort to reform our schools and to adapt the basic school curriculum to these new international realities.

Finally, I should make it clear that, while we regard economic competitiveness as an urgent reason for the United States to improve its schools and to support the arts and the humanities, it is not the only, or even the most important, reason. We have a number of guests from overseas and neighboring nations in our audience and on the program. I want to stress that the only competition we are talking about is one in which all nations stand to gain as we work together within a new global economic framework.

International understanding is important to all of us, and we want to do our part to ensure that the United States educates citizens of the world in the most comprehensive sense of that term. Our purpose today, therefore, is to discuss international cultural programs and their link to the educational system in its broadest and fullest sense. I am confident that we can make the case that these exchanges are vital, not only to American education but to all aspects of our daily life.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE INTELLECTUAL AND CULTURAL DIMENSION IN THE EMERGING INTERNATIONAL ORDER *

JAMES H. BILLINGTON
The Librarian of Congress

Culture and commerce in the broadest sense are replacing weapons and physical resources in the narrower sense as the political realities of the future. This shift gives to the cultural riches of America as great a practical importance for the 21st century as the physical riches of this country had for the 20th.

* *This speech includes material from a book to be published by the Free Press and should not be quoted beyond the fair use provision of the copyright law without the written permission of the author.*

The 20th century has ended as dramatically as it began. Not chronologically, but in a deeper sense, the 20th century began in August 1914 with a shot in Sarajevo that ended forever the international order controlled by the elites of a small number of European powers. And the century has ended in August 1991 with a lot more shooting in Yugoslavia.

The source of this change, however, wasn't a shooting at all. It was something radically different. It happened in Moscow, which no one expected, and without any shooting, which was even more unexpected. The most destructive ideology and the most massive military machine of the 20th century crumbled, the last of the great 20th century wars ended. The outlines began to appear of the new politics of the 21st century, politics which are, for the first time, genuinely global.

More than anything else, it was modern communications that finally worked their magic and made the world very nearly one. The instantaneous echo effect was most noticeable in Eastern Europe where television and short wave radio, telephone and telefax brought news of one uprising to the immediate attention of another restive populace and produced the epidemic of outbursts in Eastern Europe in 1989, the Soviet Union's western minority peoples in 1990, and Russia itself in 1991.

In Moscow the defense of a popularly elected government by an unarmed human wall was the instinctive imitation of a television image broadcast from Lithuania earlier in the year. The key image was of a man on a tank, an echo itself of an earlier image conveyed by television from Tiananmen Square. It was my privilege to be in Moscow during these events and to see the effects of communication: people in the Russian White House hunched over telephones talking to their country, on television talking to the world, on telefax communicating with outlying areas — defended all the while by a defenseless human wall comprised of small groups gathered around transistor radios.

It was the remarkable victory of one image conveyed on television of a man with a smiling face and a clenched fist, lifted by his people on top of his tank. This image was made more powerful by its resemblance to Russian icons. The hands and the face were the two parts of flesh left uncovered on the classic icons. This image contrasted sharply with

another television image: that of Gennady Yanayev, the leader of the junta that had replaced Gorbachev, whose weak face and trembling hands suggested weakness even at the junta's initial press conference.

We are now in another kind of world with another kind of image and another kind of result, none of which the world expected. Confronted with a sudden putsch that had reimposed from the top down the old Leninist politics of fear, the Russians (long thought to be a politically passive people) unexpectedly found a way to affirm a new politics of hope.

They defended on those exposed barricades their first democratically elected government and Yeltsin's now famous White House, which replaced the historic Kremlin as the locus of legitimacy for the Russian people. They opened the way for the other peoples of the U.S.S.R. to affirm their own identities and their own politics of hope. At the same time, this upheaval created the possibility of new conflict and new dangers arising from the deep disillusionment that sometimes follows hope. We are uncertain as to whether we are dealing with a situation similar to Germany after World War I or after World War II, situations which had very different outcomes for the human race.

At the end of the 20th century, as at the beginning, America does not realize how central it is to the drama taking place in far off Eastern Europe and may be tempted to think it can escape from the chaos of change that followed the dramatic events (in one August as in another). But, as Edgar Allan Poe wrote in that great American fable, *The Masque of the Red Death*, we cannot hide behind thick walls from what is going on in the outer world nor, I think, do we want to. The world has been

At the end of the 20th century, as at the beginning, America does not realize how central it is to the drama taking place in far off Eastern Europe and may be tempted to think it can escape from the chaos of change

transformed physically and emotionally more by America than by any other single force in the 20th century. This is a world that is looking to us for institutions and ideas in an era of dangerous overpopulation, depleting resources, and looming ecological disasters.

What America did or did not do with its physical strength decisively affected the outcome of the events that shaped the 20th century: World War I, World War II, and the Cold War. We committed ourselves, somewhat reluctantly at times, but had the good fortune to be on the winning side of all three. We now face a world that is influenced by what we are — and what we aspire to be — far more than we realize.

Our willingness or unwillingness to do with our resources of the mind and spirit at the dawn of the 21st century what we did with our physical resources during the 20th will be the ultimate test not just of our greatness but of our survival as a civilization.

What we do, or do not do, to sustain and to share our intellectual creative side with the rest of the world is not just some minor question among the problems of the real world. We live in the information age, when instantaneous electronic communication is creating that global village, once a figment of the imagination but now a reality. The resurgent sources of new potential conflict can no longer be contained within the traditional geopolitical unit of the national state.

As determining factors of politics, transnational religious and cultural identities and violent sub-national ethnic conflicts are replacing confrontations between armed states territorially defined. Culture and commerce in the broadest sense are replacing weapons and physical resources in the narrower sense as the political realities of the future. This shift gives to the cultural riches of America as great a practical importance for the 21st century as the physical riches of this country had for the 20th.

Countries and peoples are reaching towards America and the American experience. Possibilities are opening up for America to relate to the world in new ways. If we know how to use these possibilities, and if we can recognize the importance of the cultural dimension of international relations and of our own cultural resources, these new relationships will be as profitable for us as for others.

Let me try to describe this morning (1) my view of the new determining trends in the world, (2) how these trends were both illustrated and accelerated by the events of August 1991 in Moscow and, finally, (3) how America's cultural, intellectual, and institutional resources can and should influence changes both in the former Soviet Union and in the larger world in general.

My emphasis on the Soviet Union is justified not just by my background and interests but by the importance that the Secretary of State and his Deputy Secretary have given to the question of material aid for the former Soviet Union in the current crisis. In looking at the challenge, however, I want to talk about non-material resources that can be provided by the non-governmental sector as a source of the creative initiative and resourcefulness that is the mark of a rising rather than a declining civilization.

(1) This is for the first time a global era in which almost everybody wants to be part of the action. The passivity and disinvolvement of large sections of the world are disappearing. Albania, Mongolia, and Ethiopia, no less than Poland and Czechoslovakia, have overthrown Leninist dictatorships. Haitians and Vietnamese are risking their lives on boats to reach more friendly shores, and in a deeper sense we are all in that boat.

In large portions of the world women are being educated and enfranchised for the first time in history. Whole classes of societies, as well as whole societies, are entering the global marketplace. Everyone is watching much the same television programs.

Despite the cacophony of the global chorus and the diversity of problems, there is a similar revolution of rising expectations which is based on three fundamental wants beyond the basics of food, clothing, and shelter. Almost everyone wants to possess three new entitlements of modernity.

First, people want to participate in political and economic decision-making or to hold others accountable for those decisions. Second, they want access to what other people know, and they want to be able to ask questions of their own. They want access, in short, to the tools and substance of universal human knowledge, the great secular open commons of humanity. And, third, they want to be able to express and celebrate who and what they are in terms of their ethnic, cultural, or religious identity.

Put simply, people want a measure of dignified participation in how they live in society, how they develop their minds, and how they express themselves spiritually.

(2) The events of August in Russia illustrate all three passions coming alive in this long-passive and apolitical Russian people, but their example is only one of many illustrations of the ways in which very diverse peoples are coming alive in different parts of the world. I would like to use the August events in Russia to discuss each of the three new entitlements of political participation, intellectual freedom and liberty of expression.

The very diverse group of people who spontaneously put their lives on the line on the barricades in Moscow were there to defend a new democracy which had not yet even had a chance to work for them but for which they were prepared to die. They did not go to the White House to establish a market economy, but to make a fresh start by discarding an oppressive system of government and a morally compromised way of living with one another.

They went to the barricades, because they had learned to ask new questions under *glasnost*, which was the one real part of the reform program under Gorbachev. That democracy is the proper form of government for thinking people was beautifully articulated in a memorable speech by Andrei Sakharov's wife, Elena Bonner. Aside from Yeltsin's appearance, this speech got the loudest applause during those uncertain hours outside the White House.

"We are people," she said, "people, not cattle. We are higher. We are cleaner." Although not a poet, she used the language poetically in articulating the humanity of a people who had forgotten that they were people. And what differentiated them from cattle was their ability to use their minds critically and freely in ways that they hadn't before.

The people also went to the barricades because they wanted to extract and reassert a different, deeper Russia from the oppressive ruins of the Communist system and of the over-centralized Soviet Union. It was a Russia of conscience founded on the great novelists, rooted in the great historic faith of the Russian people. It was a time of mass baptisms. It all began on the feast of the Transfiguration, which had a special importance. At the crucial moment when the attack was expected, a couple of priests distributed Bibles to all of the soldiers in the threatening tanks. The fact that the Patriarch himself got on the loudspeaker and issued a moving prayer at that moment cannot have been irrelevant to the outcome.

The Russian people, as represented there, were moving forward to what they called "normal" or civilized political life and to the educated life of the liberal democratic world, but they were also moving back to recover their own identity. And that special sort of recovery of the Russian identity was sealed in the funeral ceremony for the three young men who were slain in the defense of the White House. This ceremony, incidentally, involved a broader identity because it included both Orthodox rites and reformed Jewish rites together in a public place. Its final dramatic moment was the appearance of

Yeltsin before the parents of the three young men. He said, "Forgive me, your President, that I was not able to defend and save your sons."

Forgiveness is what Russians ask of each other before they take communion. It is what the other Boris, Boris Godunov, asked in the great Russian opera in his last words to the Russian people. Yeltsin used this expression, and it produced one of the most powerful moments you can imagine. The Russian people were recovering an old, lost identity as well as asserting the intellectual entitlements of an educated generation and the democratic forms of government appropriate to such people.

(3) I believe that America is uniquely relevant to all three of these expressed aspirations, and I will discuss its relevance particularly to the Russian and other former Soviet republics and to the drama of bringing the independent republics back into some kind of coherent unity — building democracy in a multicultural context on a continental scale.

It is extremely important that the Russian people and the other peoples of the Soviet Union get material goods to tide them over this difficult transition period. But they also need exposure to the powerful effects of exchanges and contact with our country in much larger ways. Parenthetically, among the more than five hundred Russians who have been using the Library of Congress for the last year and a half, most have been studying and writing on constitutional matters during a period when their own national library has at times been forced to shut. Many of them find the Articles of the Confederation a better example to follow than our later Constitution because as one of them ruefully said, "You know, you only had George III to deal with. We had something a little worse."

America is not only a functioning democracy that limits central powers yet runs a large country; it also has the largest and best educational establishment in the world. The full value of this educational establishment, even in sheer economic terms, continues to be underestimated by this society and this city. In addition, American society is hospitable to religious belief and ethnic uniqueness in its subparts.

Let me stop for a minute to reflect on our own attitude towards exchanges. It is clearly ironic that the United States, whose ideas have triumphed in the Cold War, and whose example is being eagerly studied all over the world, does not really place much value on ideological, educational, and cultural factors in its foreign policy thinking.

In so doing, or in so not doing, we are betraying our origins. The United States of America came into being as an idea which arose out of intense intellectual debate and discussion. It has created both the largest and most sophisticated higher educational establishment and the most influential mass entertainment culture in all of human history.

These are incredibly valuable "invisible exports" (a term I picked up from colleagues on the British Council). They are things of great value, and they are key elements in our continuing experiment with the creative exercise of human freedom for human good.

Political and economic freedoms grew from and depend on the life of the mind and spirit that created this country in the first place. Both our original political constitution, and our subsequent social and economic inventiveness arise from, and culminate in, the free creative activity of the human mind.

The genius of the American ideal, as Jefferson defined it, is that democracy must be knowledge-based, dynamic, and self-renewing. The man who declared our independence wanted to be remembered on his tombstone as a founder of a university, not as President of the United States. He saw that the national legislature in this new capital had to be based on a library, and he created the Library of Congress from his own library, which was perhaps the largest and most universal private library then in existence in the Western Hemisphere.

An aggressive and comprehensive foreign cultural policy not only reflects a recognition of our origins and the valuable resources that we have for this information- and knowledge- intensive world of the future, but it is also crucial to our national security interests, because intellectual and cultural freedom is the most important single precondition of the breakdown of the kinds of tyrannical systems that will continue to threaten us periodically, as they have, for instance, in Iraq.

The building of democracy elsewhere in the world is in the interest of world peace because in the long, and generally depressing, history of how wars have started in the modern world, the encouraging ray of light is that democracies do not fight each other. The securing of democracy and the sustaining of intellectual freedom in the parts of the U.S.S.R. is the only really secure way of keeping their still numerous missiles under some kind of real arms control.

It hurts us not to have a more energetic international cultural policy for a number of reasons. First, we have means of reaching and communicating with the leaders who emerge from economic or military elites in the former Communist countries and the Third

World countries, but those are not the elites that are assuming power. Those who are assuming power are playwrights in Czechoslovakia and Hungary. They are actors who are ministers of culture, not only in the old Soviet Union but in the Russian republic. It was musicians who presided over the transformation of East Germany and Lithuania. It is those most irrelevant of all scholars, medieval historians happily working with illuminated manuscripts, who lead the reform factions of parliaments in Poland and the Soviet Union.

The relevance of the irrelevant when humanity is making a truly big change is not to be forgotten. The rising level of education in most of the world means that the new cadres of power are increasingly going to be recruited from the educated classes, and the rising number of ethnic identities means that they will put in power those who can articulate the special vision and cultural destiny of an individual people.

The open cultural system that we have here attracts and helps identify future leaders in the Third World, as well as intellectual leaders and opinion makers. The arts and the humanities are the recruiting grounds for much of the new leadership that is transforming, and in some cases creating, these countries.

Second, we are losing the ability to anticipate major changes in the world. Our entire behaviorist-oriented intellectual establishment failed to anticipate the four greatest changes overseas that have affected America during the late post-war era: Vietnam, Iran, Iraq, and now the Soviet Union. We are also ill-equipped to deal with our two greatest emerging cultural challenges: dealing with the Islamic world and with the neo-Confucian societies of the East Asian littoral.

The third reason we have been hurt internationally by our neglect of culture is that we are blunting our competitive edge. Historically, America has been a country that depends on the continuing immigration of ideas to renew and enrich itself. We must either be a continually growing society or one that will ossify and die like the empires of old.

We have benefitted immensely from the inflow of immigrants. We also need a new immigration of ideas. There is much we can learn from other nations: from East Africa, which has kept the village as a mediating entity between family and state and has not gone the totalitarian route that many predicted; from Switzerland, which knows how to take care of its people while providing almost no funds from its central government; or from Holland, which knows how to integrate technology with the environment in a way that enhances both.

The point is that there is now a new set of opportunities opening up in the world. America, particularly with our new immigration coming primarily from East Asia and Hispanic America, is in the process of becoming the first society to maintain a distinctive core culture, yet at the same time internalize large elements of the populations of all the major continents of the world. So we are, in a sense, a pioneer world civilization as the world itself grapples towards the pluralism in which people value their own uniqueness, yet at the same time participate in a broader secular culture.

E pluribus unum is possible. It is our goal. And it has been our destiny to further a process which is increasingly becoming a global one.

There are a number of opportunites for the private sector to further this process using a wide variety of programs in education, culture, and the arts. There are also the bridging activities of America's diverse communities of faith, which remain important to American national interests even if they are properly conducted separately from state and government policy. There are language programs. Many of the evangelical Christian organizations have remarkable literacy programs, for example, in Latin America and indeed in parts of Eastern Europe. There is a richness to what is happening in the private sector, but this is coupled with a lack of full appreciation here of its possibilities.

We have to insist on developing deep area studies with a stronger humanistic base, grounded in foreign languages, within our schools and universities.

While we need a few specialists well trained and deeply immersed in foreign cultures, we also need a broader popular familiarization with the life of foreign cultures as they are actually lived in their fullness. Familiarization can come from museum exhibitions, music and art festivals, and television series that get deep into culture.

It is clearly ironic that the United States, whose ideas have triumphed in the Cold War, and whose example is being eagerly studied all over the world, does not really place much value on ideological, educational, and cultural factors in its foreign policy thinking.

Combining the technical genius that television currently expends on commercials with the academic genius that scholars currently pour into minutiae could enrich both worlds. Why not a series of television presentations on the great cultures of the world that would provide a new audiovisual generation with an immersion in Islam or Eastern Christianity? By focusing on the deepest sources of culture, rather than on just the actions of nation-states, such a series could transcend and illuminate the contemporary scene.

I think it is generally best, based on the history of cultural and intellectual exchanges, to bring foreigners here to experience our institutions rather than to export our institutions to them. If you look at the period of the traumas of the late 1930's through the 1940's in Asia, it was the people who came to this country who became the best friends of America. That friendship was based on the fact that they had firsthand experience and were given the opportunity to take what they learned back and interpret it to their own country.

I would like to recommend to the private sector the organization and funding of a massive importation of people from the former Soviet Union for a quick first experience in this country. In addition to the existing IIE kind of programs, which also need to be increased, I believe that 50,000 Russians should see this country in the next year. It is crucial; it isn't being done; and it won't be done unless there is a great upsurge of private initiative all over the country.

Whereas China had troops but no leaders, and their reform was crushed in Tiananmen Square, Russia and the former Soviet Union have leaders but no troops. They have had fewer people in the entire post-war era visit this country than the Chinese had in one year at the height of the exchange. No sizeable country in the world has had less per capita exposure to America or, for that matter, to Western democracy than the Soviet Union.

Our willingness or unwillingness to do with our resources of the mind and spirit at the dawn of the 21st century what we did with our physical resources during the 20th will be the ultimate test not just of our greatness but of our survival as a civilization.

This is an extremely dangerous and unfortunate circumstance. For more than anyone else overseas, the Russians and citizens of the other republics need to see us in action.

Let me just mention briefly three examples of the transforming power of a single individual who has spent time in this country. Rem Khoklov, the former rector of Moscow University, who died a few years ago heroically trying to rescue a friend in a mountain climbing accident, was one of the Soviet Union's most gifted laser scientists — and he could have been just another cog in the Soviet military-industrial complex. But a year on academic exchange at Stanford exposed him to more than physics, and he introduced the first teaching of American studies into Moscow University, a study which has spread all over the Soviet Union.

Aleksandr Yakovlev, the closest advisor to Gorbachev in those critical early years when he was a genuine pioneering reformer, first learned about the possibilities of a free society during his years as an exchange student at Columbia University. He played a key role not only in explaining the West to the more sheltered Gorbachev, but also in criticizing Gorbachev's later reactionary drift and in rallying to the support of the Yeltsin forces during the coup.

A final illustration of the extraordinary multiplier effects of one person: a young political scientist named Vladimir Shtinov, whom I got to know on a visit to Sverdlovsk, which is Yeltsin territory and the place that provided, outside of Moscow, the most bodies for the defense of the White House itself. He was probably the only person, until the last year or so, ever to come to America on an academic exchange from Sverdlovsk, a center of military industry. But on the basis of his year in Buffalo he has introduced to Sverdlovsk the first serious study of de Tocqueville and the *Federalist Papers* in Russia. He now serves as a kind of foreign policy advisor to that city, renamed Ekaterinburg, which is the base of the reform movement in the deep interior of Russia.

So individuals can be of enormous importance. The stakes are very high, because they are now trying to achieve goals that they have neither the experience, nor the institutions, nor the time to accomplish by themselves: creating accountable public institutions and institutionalizing the rule of law.

The stakes are also high because the hopes of a long dormant Russian people have been aroused and, particularly after a hard winter of internal violence, could be diverted into chauvinistic, fascistic channels that would support a second putsch and a more hostile, as well as less stable, country.

It is in our interest to identify with that culture of hope, to take advantage of the fact that we are the major model by which others measure themselves in trying to build some kind of continent-wide multicultural democracy. It is essential to channel that hope into a realistic process of building the infrastructure of democracy. I propose a new kind of American initiative, an "Operation Plowshare," which would give a fresh incentive to the wide variety of American institutions. Local governments, churches, unions, voluntary organizations, advocacy groups, political parties, would be brought together in direct exchange programs with their counterparts in Russia and the other republics for this crash period when they will either jump-start the learning process into democracy or revert into some kind of fascist, nativist definition of the Russian identity.

It is very important for us not only to provide access to the institutions of our open and democratic society, and to the institutions of our civil society, but also to play a role in saving and celebrating those great cultural monuments that form part of the world patrimony of culture and that are in danger of destruction.

The Lenin Library, the second largest library in the world, has shut completely. Secretary Adams at the Smithsonian is just back from Russia and reports a similar crisis in the museum world. There is a terrible risk that their already-ravaged cultural patrimony will be lost in this moment of chaos.

Those who come to the rescue in such a moment of crisis are the friends to whom the rescued will turn when, as they surely will some day, they shape a free and vibrant new economic market. The people the Russians will turn to for their economic transactions are the people who were concerned about their deeper cultural and personal identity during a time of trauma and crisis. So the United States, the great champion in the world for democracy, education, and cultural identity, must make cultural activity and cultural policy a central element in a new type of foreign policy that requires far greater participation on the part of the private sector.

This participation should be of interest to the private sector because it is part of the same world of creative and entrepreneurial spirit that has been central to private sector productivity.

It should also be of interest to the private sector because an ever larger share of the United States' productive activity is involved in information-based industry and the internationally-linked sectors of the economy.

America has upped the ante for humanity by infecting so much of the world with the appetite for change and by lifting expectations, which may lead to conflict. We have now entered a world beyond the ideological face-off of the 20th century, one where we are going to need a deep cultural understanding of Islam, the East Asian Confucian-based societies, and the unresolved ethnic, racial, and religious tensions which still exist at the sub-national level in all countries of the world, including our own.

I propose a new kind of American initiative, an Operation Plowshare. I would like to recommend to the private sector the organization and funding of a massive importation of people from the former Soviet Union.

By understanding other people we understand ourselves. A distinctive benefit of foreign study and exchange is a deeper understanding of one's own self and one's own country. Those who appreciate America the most are often either the new immigrants or those who have just arrived back after a long time abroad. America grows stronger by rediscovering and sharing its own legacy of freedom even as we import the ideas, absorb the achievements, and increasingly celebrate the aspirations of others. Our pluralistic country can be a model as well as a leader in the development, in peace, of a pluralistic world. And in such a world the pursuit of truth and the celebration of life in the arts, the sciences, and the humanities is not a competitive enterprise.

It is not a zero sum game, to use Washington language, because one person's gain is also another's in this kind of pursuit. The pursuit of truth is the highest form of Jefferson's pursuit of happiness. It keeps us from the pursuit of one another. On our tense, overcrowded, ecologically embattled planet there inevitably will be physical limitations on many aspects of human activity.

Dangers exist, but as Pascal said at the dawn of the modern era in his *Treatise on the Void*, "Man is made for infinity." That is part of the ambition and the hope of the modern era which created America. It is part of the American dream that whatever the problem, tomorrow will always be better than yesterday. It may be that only in the shared life of the mind and the spirit — and in its celebration on an international level — can the horizon still remain infinite in the 21st century for our enduring ideal of human freedom and human possibility.

INCREASING INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING THROUGH FELLOWSHIPS, UNIVERSITY LINKAGES AND CULTURAL EXCHANGES

THOMAS H. KEAN
President of Drew University

American business should view exchanges as an investment in its own future. American business needs a work force educated not only in economics and technology but also in the ways of the world.

Thirty years ago, President John F. Kennedy sent Americans abroad for the first time as part of the Peace Corps. This decision broadened and deepened America's engagement in the world. The Peace Corps was a great idea, and it still is. But today our need for international involvement and understanding is even more vital. Our role in the world has changed. Today's world is much more interdependent than when President Kennedy first saw the merit in sending American volunteers overseas.

With the world's growing level of interaction between nations, America's future depends to an enormous degree on our ability to maintain our economic and political clout amidst a geopolitical sea change. This may be the most significant foreign policy challenge America faces in the coming decades. How we engage ourselves internationally today will determine the world we live in tomorrow. The stakes are high. We need to think creatively about ways that we can allow people abroad to understand who we are as Americans, and Americans need to understand our changing world better than we do now.

To begin our discussion, I think it is worth recalling some of the dramatic things that have happened in the past few years.

Europe is becoming economically integrated. Earlier this week, in the Netherlands, the European Community agreed on a treaty that provides a common foreign and defense policy and a single European currency by the end of the decade. The Warsaw Pact has collapsed, leaving in its place poverty-stricken, fragile democracies. Japan is forging trade links with other Asian partners and continuing to define itself as a major economic force. And democracy, once a political concept restricted largely to the Western world, now is gaining ground seemingly everywhere.

The most important change, certainly, is that the Soviet Union is no longer a union. It has broken into pieces, and the Communist party, now universally discredited, is on the run.

There was a time when I would get mad at the American media when they referred incorrectly to the Soviet Union as "Russia" and refused to recognize that the Soviet Union was an unnatural coalition created — and held together by force — by Lenin, Stalin and their successors. But today there really is a Russia. It is a wholly independent nation. And wonder of wonders, it is led by an elected democrat who contends that free market reform and democracy are the only real answers for his embattled nation.

Some people view these events as the end and triumph of American foreign policy. And, indeed, if you look at what we hoped to achieve after the World War II, it seems that we have achieved it:

Europe and Japan have been rebuilt; Communism has not only been contained, but rolled back; America has maintained and even increased its political, and in some ways its economic, might. We could be content, and certainly we should take a moment to celebrate our victories.

But we also need to look at the challenges that remain for American interests abroad. First, some 60 percent of the world's people continue to live under non-democratic regimes. In most of these societies, human rights and civil liberties are violated systematically. In South Asia and in Africa famine and poverty are widespread. Combined with political oppression, this has made life virtually unbearable for people of these regions.

There are other challenges too. No longer can we take for granted that America is going to be the world's economic leader. America continues to outproduce every other nation, but we are challenged in that position every day. We also face the lingering problems of the Cold War. As we talk this morning there are 10,000 Soviet nuclear warheads still pointed at American cities. No matter who controls these weapons, this remains an issue of grave concern for American security.

As we confront these remaining problems, Americans should draw from the lessons of our experience. One lesson, surely, is that determination pays off. Four decades of bipartisan support for NATO, combined with the strong posture against Communist imperialism, was instrumental in bringing down the Communist system. A second lesson is that free market approaches are the best path to economic growth. Fortunately, even many socialist societies are starting to realize this.

There is another key lesson to remember, though it is not recognized as clearly or as widely. That lesson is the importance of cultural and academic exchanges in advancing international understanding and in advancing the interests of America.

Cultural and academic exchanges benefit the United States in two ways. First, they expose American students to what works and what does not work in the countries of the world. We can apply this knowledge directly to the benefit of American economic and social interests. Second, these exchanges expose foreign students to the power of the American idea — political and economic freedom. Often these students return to their own country with concrete ideas about the advantages of liberty. Often, too, they return with a favorable impression of our nation. Over time, these sentiments may build goodwill among nations, which can contribute to global peace.

We should never forget the power of the American idea. Think back to 1989 and the pro-democracy student revolt in China or to the collapse of the Berlin Wall. What I saw in those pictures were young, excited men and women who had a democratic future before them and who were ready to make whatever sacrifice was necessary to ensure that future.

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When you look further you find many of these democratic leaders had gained their knowledge of democracy by studying in America. No one indoctrinated them. Rather, they saw firsthand the virtues of our political and economic systems, and they returned home to attempt to replicate them. In part because of mass communications, even those Chinese youths who did not study here knew of America. So we should not have been surprised to find that, when the Chinese students stood in front of those Communist tanks in open rebellion, it wasn't the Eiffel Tower or the British Parliament they used as their symbol. It was the Statue of Liberty.

And why not? For many years Chinese students had been studying in America, and many American students had been visiting China. Because of these exchanges, people in China gained a favorable view of us — which helps to explain why Communism is now on the defensive in the world's most populous land.

There are still further examples of the power of the American idea. In Eastern Europe, just before the collapse of Communism, journalists asked, "Who is the thinker whom you admire the most?" It wasn't Karl Marx. It was James Madison, the symbol of the power of liberty and a society founded on that idea. In Czechoslovakia recently President Havel was asked, "What is the first thing you need?" His answer was, "What I would really like are translations of the *Federalist Papers*, so I can put them into our schools."

It made me think for a minute. How many of our schools now read and understand the *Federalist Papers*? We need to show why our system is a system worth replicating. If Madison is being read in Prague, why not in the schools of Berkeley? And if Adam Smith is a hero

in Moscow, why is he virtually forgotten in America's leading business schools? We must confront this new world with pride in the system our founding fathers created, and that means studying and celebrating these brave and wise men. Dwight Eisenhower remarked in 1958 that "America is best described by one word: freedom." People around the world know that our success is based on that idea of freedom; we must not forget it either.

The power of the American idea, of course, does not end in China. Nor does it end at the Berlin Wall. In almost every country that has sent people here or received Americans, our ideas have penetrated. As we have better understood other peoples through cultural exchanges, they in return have understood us better. And as they have, the interests of democracy and free markets have been served, whether in Africa, Asia, Europe, or Latin America.

And not only are the interests of democracy and free markets served, but we find that students who participate in exchanges often go on to do great things. Take for instance a survey by the United States Information Agency which revealed that many Fulbright alumni now are high-ranking officials in other countries. Forty are former or current members of national legislative bodies; ten are supreme court justices; sixty-seven are former or current university presidents; thirty-two are former or current ambassadors. And the list goes on.

We should be proud that so many people who have studied and learned in this country are now taking leadership roles in their own societies with an understanding of our people's ideas, and we need to expand these programs even further.

And what about American students who study abroad? How does America benefit from that? First, American students who visit and study in other countries serve not only as ambassadors for our nation but often gain experience that benefits our global trading abilities. The cultural, linguistic, and other forms of knowledge they gain increase our understanding of the world. This, in turn, strengthens us in the ever-competitive global marketplace.

In his State of the Union speech in 1986 Ronald Reagan made a bold, but true, pronouncement about American trade. He said, "If the United States can trade with other nations on a level playing field, we can out-produce, out-compete, out-sell anybody anywhere in the world." But our trading ability depends not just on the quantity and the quality of American goods, but also on our understanding of the markets and the people we hope to reach.

I think back to several years ago when General Motors decided to market its Chevy Nova in Latin America. The marketing executives bought time on television and radio and splattered pictures of the car all over billboards. There was one small problem. GM's people in Detroit didn't realize that "Nova," when spoken as two words in Spanish, means: "It doesn't go!" Needless to say, sales lagged until the name was changed.

As Governor of New Jersey I served, in a sense, as our state's trade ambassador, and I visited a number of countries in an effort to expand New Jersey's foreign exports. I heard again and again from foreign leaders that one problem with American business people is that they simply do not understand the cultures with which they deal.

Because they didn't understand the culture, their businesses lost to people in other parts of the world who took the trouble to learn and understand other cultures. This knowledge will be critical in determining whether countries in the world buy Fords or Hondas. It will determine whether Ronald Reagan's bold statement of 1986 rings true in 2006.

As part of this mission, I believe our schools must have a more international flavor. Students must expand their knowledge of the world. We must not see any more surveys in which thirty percent of the students in Texas do not know which country is immediately to their south, or forty percent surveyed cannot locate Great Britain on a map of the world or identify any country in Europe. This simply can't continue if America hopes to succeed in the global marketplace.

And it raises the most important question: How do you understand another place? You do not just study it on a map. Geography is important, of course, and you have to start there. But once you find it on a map, you must learn its languages, its history, its arts, its literature, and its music.

Jim Billington gave a wonderful example of learning through listening to Mussorgsky. Hearing the death of Boris Godunov, you can understand better the words of Boris Yeltsin. Do we really think we can understand the Soviet Union without reading Chekhov or Tolstoy, or without looking back and understanding the history of that country? If we think we can, we are foolish.

Study art. Study literature. And the place to study these things is in our schools. But, if you want to worry, look at what is happening in the schools today at a time of economic distress. The arts are among the first areas to be cut in school programs. You will see that as there are cutbacks in the arts, we will have fewer, not more, literate students. And our students will have more trouble understanding the world in which they live.

Still, I do not want to sound completely pessimistic. We already are doing some things very well. Those universities, companies, and private organizations that are promoting cultural and academic exchanges are doing great work. They need to continue and expand that work.

At my own university, Drew, we have long recognized the important role of international programs for our students and the importance of bringing foreign students to Drew. We are careful not to impose an international curriculum at the expense of American history or the history of Western civilization, but we try to emphasize the need for foreign language training and a greater awareness of foreign cultures.

Despite this recession, we recently hired new faculty members in Islamic studies, Asian and African studies, and Russian history. Exchanges resonate. As we hired new faculty members in Russian history, we brought new exchange students in from Russia, and the faculty tell me they have enhanced the program a great deal. Because we have these students in our midst, our students understand much better what is going on now. Other students are studying abroad in countries as diverse as Belgium, Chile, France, the Ivory Coast, Japan, Malaysia, Mexico, Senegal, Spain, and a number of others.

I have come to believe that students have not received a complete college education unless they have spent at least part of that four years studying in another culture. So we are working on a program in which one faculty member and 15 students will go abroad as part of the regular tuition. And, every student, as part of the requirements for a diploma, will be obliged to spend some time in another country. If our program gets off the ground, we will be the first university in the country to emphasize in this way the importance of international understanding.

The arts are among the first areas to be cut in school programs. You will see that as there are cutbacks in the arts, we will have fewer, not more, literate students.

I also want to say that I am generally pleased with the work done by our government in this area. The United States Information Agency has done well to recognize the important role that exchanges can play in advancing America's economic and political goals and helping advance international understanding. The USIA needs to keep up its good work.

But, as you know, we live in very tight budgetary times. It is unrealistic to think that the government will greatly expand these programs, though I trust it will do what it can. So if the private sector does not engage itself in some of these areas, many of these excellent programs may disappear.

American business should view exchanges as an investment in its own future. American business needs a work force educated not only in economics and technology but also in the ways of the world. I believe businesses would find it wise to sponsor exchange programs. The knowledge gained by future American employees can pay off many times the original investment.

As we search for new answers to the international challenges and opportunites that await us, we should recall the words of John Locke: "It is one thing to show a man that he is in error, it is another to put him in the possession of truth."

As we witness the collapse of autocratic, statist regimes, I believe Locke would concede that man now has recognized many of his errors — at least most of his economic and political ones. But we still must possess the truth to which Locke referred. When it was dark, we needed to curse the darkness. But now that there is light, we must make sure changes under way become permanent, and that those societies that have yet to see the merits in political and economic freedom come out of the shadows.

As much as anything, this means that we need to refine the knowledge of our next generation of leaders. They will face difficult questions. How do you institutionalize a democratic government? How do you implement a free market where there has never been one before? How do you reevaluate alliances that for years have guided our foreign policy and now may be less valid? How can we ensure that the new geopolitical climate continues to guarantee peace and prosperity?

One way to begin is through greater understanding. Let us remember what Harry Truman so eloquently observed in 1950: "In the long run," he said, "our security and the world's hopes for peace lie not in measures of defense or in the control of weapons, but in the growth and expansion of freedom and self-government."

History has proved that we will always need a strong defense. But one of the greatest tools we have to expand freedom is cultural and academic exchange. These exchanges already have contributed tremendously to this expansion. In the interests of America, it is an effort worth continuing and expanding.

LEADERSHIP AND INTERNATIONAL EXPERIENCE: THE PRIVATE SECTOR AND CULTURAL DIPLOMACY

LYNNE V. CHENEY
Chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities

As chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities I have had the enormous privilege over the last several years of witnessing firsthand the benefit to knowledge and to relations between nations that international cultural exchange can foster. I have had the privilege of seeing Greek and American scholars work together to excavate Minoan ruins on an island near Crete. I have watched American art historians advise their Italian colleagues who were working to restore the Sistine Chapel. I have talked with recent American college graduates who are teaching English in Japan and perfecting their own Japanese along the way.

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At the beginning of this week I was in Hungary and Czechoslovakia where teachers and scholars face the enormous challenge of rebuilding the infrastructure that Communism destroyed. Under the Soviet regime school curricula and textbooks became instruments of Marxism. The power of universities to grant advanced degrees was transferred to a central authority that would make sure that no one advanced professionally in the intellectual world unless he or she were politically correct.

Americans are helping with the enormous task of restoring honesty to teaching and research; they are learning from their Hungarian and Czechoslovakian colleagues about the rich and vibrant culture of these countries; and they are learning of the remarkable bravery and resilience of some of their fellow scholars in Hungary and Czechoslovakia, scholars who resisted Communist domination, who refused to speak in Marxist / Leninist terms and spent time in jail for it, scholars who could not pursue their careers because of their resistance.

I think of the rector of Charles University, a venerable institution, one of the oldest universities in Europe. Dr. Radim Palous is a man with two Ph.D.s who, under the Communist regime, was forced to shovel coal for a living because he refused to mouth Marxist rhetoric.

But even while he was shoveling coal eight hours a day, he didn't quit doing his research. He didn't quit teaching. He talks about his "flat students," the students who came to his apartment to learn. And he said to me, "You know, I think I shall never have such an audience again."

These are people who came to learn because they wanted to learn. They didn't come to learn because they wanted a degree. They wanted to know the truth. And so they came to his flat, and the police frequently came to his flat, too, and carted everyone off to jail.

What a remarkable thing it would be if we could bring more scholars like Dr. Palous to this country. I know that there are many public programs in place to do that. The NEH, I am proud to say, has programs that are helping American scholars go to parts of the world like Hungary and Czechoslovakia. The USIA has done wonderful work in this area. Henry Catto can be very proud of the USIA staff people.

These are public efforts, but more efforts are needed — private efforts. I saw firsthand the work that George Soros has made possible. I ran into your footprints everywhere, Mr. Soros. It is really remarkable what your foundations have done.

I will now proceed with our panel. Our first speaker will be Ambassador Henry Catto, a man who has had long and distinguished experience in public service in this country, Mr. Catto has recently become the director of USIA and he will speak about the USIA's mandate and some of its recent initiatives.

HENRY E. CATTO
Director of the United States Information Agency

This renewed isolationism is motivated in part by a belief that with the defeat of Communism our great service is done and, like Cincinnatus, we should return home to cultivate our fields, to the joys of private life. Much as such a retreat might recommend itself to individuals, it is worse than irrelevent with regard to nations. It is dangerous.

Distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, it is a pleasure to be here with you today and to have a chance to say a few words about the tremendous boost that USIA's public diplomacy gets from the efforts of the private sector.

I would like to begin my remarks about today's topic by referring to another topic that we have been hearing a good bit about lately. Many would argue that George Washington was the first America-firster, in modern parlance an isolationist. As we all remember, in his farewell address to the nation in 1796 Washington admonished us to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world.

Of course, it was easier to be an isolationist back then. Washington's Secretary of State, Thomas Jefferson, wrote of the United States minister to Spain at that time, "I haven't heard from him in two years. If I don't hear from him next year I will write him a letter."

Times change, and with them necessities. For most of the past five decades Americans have resisted the isolationist impulse. They rightly have recognized that isolationism is an artifact from another era.

Instead, we have had a broad and usually bipartisan agreement on America's relations with the world. Its bedrock has been American public opinion, which has supported our nation's continuing involvement in world affairs. Thank goodness the fabric of this broad agreement remains strong even today. But for a number of years this fabric has been fraying a bit at the edges.

The left edge, dominated by those who don't think America is special, or who think that America has no special mission, began to fray during the Vietnam era. But recently also the right edge has begun to fray, partly because some people believe in their hearts that the United States is, after all, too good for the world.

Alas, whatever the truth or falseness in the past of this idea, in the modern world this is a view that would make us prey to what is worst in that world for which we are supposedly too good. I think this renewed isolationism on the right is motivated in part by a belief that with the defeat of Communism our great service is done and, like Cincinnatus, we should return home to cultivate our fields, to the joys of private life.

I would answer that much as such a retreat might recommend itself to individuals, it is worse than irrelevant with regard to nations. It is dangerous. Nations don't have any private lives to retreat to. They have only attentiveness to their affairs or inattentiveness.

Considering that our panel's topic this morning is the private sector and cultural diplomacy, you may think that I am a little far afield, but actually I am only entering through the back door.

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The declining consensus about American involvement in the world, together with the rise of new concerns such as our budgetary problems, have affected the financial wherewithal of agencies involved in U.S. foreign policy. This budgetary problem reflects a long-term trend and is almost certain to continue.

The USIA budget, for example, does not even keep up with the inflation rate in this country. Our budgets for cultural activities and for public diplomacy efforts with long-term benefits, such as the exchange programs which have been on every tongue in this meeting thus far, have been no exception. Meanwhile, cuts in our overseas staff have made it more difficult to carry out our cultural and other public diplomacy programs. And I won't tell you that these cuts don't hurt because they do.

But the USIA continues to engage in an array of cultural diplomacy efforts. We are able to do so because we long since looked to the private sector to help us.

Let me give you just a few examples. USIA's international visitor program helps over five thousand up-and-coming foreign leaders visit the United States each year to see this great country first hand. They travel extensively, aided by a huge network of American volunteers who provide them with hospitality, with transportation, and places to stay.

And wherever these foreign visitors travel they meet with top Americans in their fields of interest, whether it be politics, law, labor, journalism, management, or whatever.

I might mention that the new Secretary General of the United Nations, Mr. Boutros Ghali of Egypt, was a USIA international visitor in 1976, and indeed he was also a Fulbright research scholar in the 1950's.

Here is another example of USIA private sector cooperation. Our Office of Citizen Exchanges supports projects that link U.S. non-profit organizations interested in exchanges with similar institutions in other countries. The American Association of Museums, for example, has started a long-term program that will exchange personnel between U.S. museums and foreign museums throughout the world. Out of twenty linkages thus far, eleven are funded by the USIA and nine by foundations.

Our Arts America exhibition projects also rely heavily on private support. For example, an exhibition of the work of more than 180 leading contemporary craft artists has been touring Europe for the past two years. Philip Morris International supported the development of this project and makes possible the publicity and the presentation at each site.

Since 1989 "Crafts Today U.S.A.," as the show is called, has been shown in Paris, Helsinki, Frankfurt, Warsaw, Lausanne, Moscow, Ankara, Ghent, and Berlin. Its tenth opening took place this week in Athens. And all of this would have been impossible without the support of the private sector.

The declining consensus about American involvement in the world, together with the rise of new concerns such as our budgetary problems, have affected the financial wherewithal of agencies involved in U.S. foreign policy.

Libraries are an especially important tool. We run over two hundred USIA libraries around the world, and thanks to our private sector committee on books and libraries, American publishers have donated $6.5 million worth of books over the past two and a half years.

The members of the American Trucking Association pick up the donated books and deliver them to distribution points free of charge. It is an in-kind donation to the people around the world.

By no means do I want to overlook the marvelous help and cooperation of the entertainment industry. For years U.S. ambassadors overseas, as I personally know, have been able to utilize new films as a centerpiece for embassy representational functions. The members of the Motion Picture Association have made this possible.

As you may or may not know, USIA has its own closed-circuit broadcasting system called Worldnet. Most of our air time is not devoted to our own public affairs shows and interviews, but instead our air is frequently filled with donated programming. NBC Sports, for example, has been giving us programs to show overseas, including George Michael's wonderful "Sports Machine" show.

I could go on, but you see the point. USIA relies on support from individuals, from foundations, and from companies large and small. We welcome the help of the private sector. We need it to carry out our mission of helping the other peoples of the world understand our country better. That includes introducing them to and re-acquainting them with the artistic and cultural angels of our better nature. With the help of the private sector, the USIA can and does demonstrate that there is more to American culture than "Dallas" or Madonna.

SIR RICHARD FRANCIS

Director General of the British Council

The American private sector has given us wonderful support when we have been seeking to promote relations here in this country between our two nations.

Distinguished ladies and gentlemen, it is always a great pleasure to come to conferences and seminars in this good country because one always gets an intellectual kick. And I can assure you that today is no exception. I have already had two or three.

Tempting as it is to articulate the case "why," that has surely been done eloquently and forcefully already. Indeed, I would have been proud to have been delivering the speeches of either Dr. Billington or Governor Kean. I wouldn't have changed a word, save crossing out all the U.S.'s and putting in U.K. The message that we have been hearing this morning is equally true for my country. And, I would suggest, it is equally true for other countries of the First World if they are to take their rightful place in this new community of nations.

I am going to offer a few remarks about how we go about this. In many ways we are comparable to our good colleagues at the USIA, and indeed I would like to endorse Chairman Cheney's earlier remarks. I have seen the USIA at work around the world. Their impact is terrific and I am damn jealous.

With that said, "What is the British Council?" you may well ask. Well, let's start it this way: as you may know, the United Kingdom does not usually have cultural sections in its embassies, with some exceptions including, perhaps surprisingly, Washington, D.C. But even if our directors in each country are known as the "cultural counselor" or "cultural attache," I can assure you they are on my payroll. They work for me. Instead of having those cultural sections, what Britain has is a British Council network which comprises some 162 centers and offices in 90 countries.

With that global coverage we employ 6,100 people. Of these, 4,400 people are outside the United Kingdom and 93 percent of all those working outside the United Kingdom are indigenous. They come from the countries and the cultures in which we are working.

Our status could be described as independent, but official. We are actually constituted under a Royal Charter, exactly the same arrangement which guarantees the independence from government of the British Broadcasting Corporation.

It was in the dark November of 1940, one of the lowest and most lonely points in the war for the United Kingdom, that late King George VI granted us our Charter and we adopted the motto, "Truth Will Triumph." Well, you might say, wasn't that a lot of foresight, to foresee in 1940 the end of the war? I have to admit it was bureaucratic delay. The process was started in 1938!

We are, in fact, an "arms-length" body. We operate at arms-length from central government. As such we have to have a shoulder, so to speak, where the arm reaches the body, and our sponsoring department is the Foreign Office. However, we have an independent board in which our powers are vested. As the chief executive working to the board, I am also the accounting officer, and it is I who am answerable before the committees of Parliament.

Indeed, the tradition is that if the Foreign Secretary is asked a question in the House of Commons about our behavior or performance, the answer is: "That is a matter for the British Council board." That is the tradition, but I have to say that ministers of all parties tend to forget it! Why do we operate on this basis? Let's have a look at our mission. Formally our mission as stated in 1991, reads as follows: "Our purpose is to enhance Britain's standing as a valued and resourceful member of the community of nations through promoting cultural relations, and by directing British skills and experience at the global challenges of development and social change."

Let me just stress a couple of points. What it does not say is that our purpose is to promote Britain, full stop. Implicit in that is that we are seeking to work in our mutual interests with other countries. Implicit also is that we are seeking partnerships. We want to be known as a player on the international stage.

You note we talk about cultural relations. I would like to underline that distinction because we, as an independent body, tend not to use the phrase "cultural diplomacy," which is the subject matter of this particular session. Why not? Well, on a nicety but a semantic point, diplomacy surely has political objectives implied in it, and we are a bit more comfortable with the word "relations," which are more long-term and likely to be more enduring. But I don't want to spend my time dancing on the head of a pin.

What do we mean by culture? Our definition is very wide, from fine arts to finance, from scholarships to scientific research collaboration, from technical cooperation and delivering aid in the Third World, to marketing techniques and, most of all, the direct teaching of English around the world.

For example, we are managing projects in a number of areas for the British government's know-how funds in Eastern Europe: academic links, accountancy and auditing, agriculture, banking and finance, bilingual schools, books and information, business development, computers in industry, health care, particularly AIDS, industrial consultancies, journalism, local government, management education and training, marketing the arts, and especially the English language. Those are just some of the subjects in which we are now involved in Eastern and Central Europe.

Our objective is not just to promote Britain. Our objective is to promote good and enduring cultural relations between Britain and the United States.

Our roles include acting as an information network. Like the USIA, we have a large number of libraries, totalling 136 around the world. We operate consultancies. We are a provider of educational services: some 220 international contracts, 14 percent of those funded by the World Bank, 10 percent by the European Community Development Fund, et cetera. We are a project manager for aid projects in the Third World. We are a proactive marketing agent for British institutions. We are a broker for financial packages, putting together both government and private sector funding in order to fund these new projects. And, lastly, if nothing else comes up, we are a funding agent. But we do tend to keep our funds as a last resort. Or, if not as a last resort, we sometimes use them as an initial prompt to get that first consultancy off the ground.

Our funding sources include government grants of 120 million pounds a year, which account for 30 percent of our budget. Government contracts, not only from the British government but governments all around the world, add up to 180 million pounds a year, about 45 percent. Revenue businesses account for very nearly 100 million pounds this year, or 25 percent. Our turnover is just under 400 million pounds.

By diligently searching for private sector partners where the private sector has mutual interests with ourselves, we have managed to grow the program globally in real terms — I stress in real terms, having regard to all exchange rate differences and inflation. We have grown the program by 28 percent over the last 4 years.

We are a demand-led business. We have ceased to be a spending outfit. We are an earning outfit. Indeed, we even manage our grant-in-aid, which we get from the government, as if we were managing a business. And each year we have to go back and earn more.

I have to say that the Thatcher government, (and there is no change with John Major) has been true to its word. For it told us, "The more you earn, the more you behave and demonstrate that you can handle these funds in a business-like fashion, the more we will give you." For each of the last four years our government grant has been increased.

There are other ways in which we go about stretching our money. Indeed, we use the phrase "pound stretching." Of course, we go in for a lot of corporate sponsorships, and I am proud to say that British companies, particularly those that are seeking to set up joint ventures in new markets around the world, have been extremely generous.

So too, I have to say, has the American private sector, which has given us wonderful support when we have been seeking to promote relations here in this country between our two nations. We couldn't have achieved in the U.S. anything like what we have done without the support of the American private sector.

But then, you see, our objective is not just to promote Britain. Our objective is to promote good and enduring cultural relations between Britain and the United States. And so I make no apology for referring to the contribution which the U.S. private sector has made to our work.

Likewise, last year we had a major festival in Japan, "U.K. '90," which comprised 120 events over 3 months. The net result was really quite extraordinary. We ended up paying about one million pounds from the British side, the British Council and the Foreign Office together. And we received Japanese yen, expressed in pounds — 7 million pounds against the 1 million pound investment. That is a colossal tribute to the Japanese private sector in doing what they can to help foster this joint relationship.

There are other ways, too, in which we have tried to maximize our efforts. We have sought the help of others who have been articulating for some time now the economic importance of the arts to Britain. There is one work by John Myerscough, published by the Policy Studies Institute in 1988, which demonstrates that the arts and culture (broadly described in Britain) is now Britain's second largest invisible export — topped only by banking services, and ahead of shipping, air transportation, et cetera.

So, when one is talking to politicians we may need the eloquence of Dr. Billington or Governor Kean, but it is also very handy to have the numbers of John Myerscough.

To conclude, we in Britain would claim added value in having an agency at the interface, neither government nor private, pursuing neither political ends entirely nor profits, but presenting both an official and an entrepreneurial face. Having it both ways, you might say? Well, perhaps, but then that is particularly British!

HENRY KAUFMAN

Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Institute of International Education

President of Henry Kaufman and Company, Inc.

While most of us today share a belief in international interdependence, I fear that we have lost sight of the interdependence of our culture with the environment in which we do business: the arts, education, and the humanities, those activities that define our culture and shape our great national institutions.

As chairman of the board of trustees of the Institute of International Education I am delighted to have the opportunity to work with the President's Committee on the Arts and the Humanities and to make possible this gathering today.

The Institute of International Education was founded in 1919 and will have its 75th anniversary in a few years. It was founded by three very prominent internationalist visionaries who believed that educational exchange could foster peace and mutual understanding.

Today their dream of one world seems kind of quaint, so evident is our global interdependence. We can no longer expect to structure a coherent or effective national policy, economic, financial, or cultural, without actually taking into account the delicate and complex international infrastructure that has developed so rapidly over the years, particularly in the last decade or two.

As business people, who among us can claim to be unaffected by the changes that are sweeping the world: the establishment of a European Economic Community, the developing democracies in East Central Europe and Asia, the emerging quasi-industrial powers like Korea, Taiwan, and Singapore? No business in the United States can function unaffected by the ramifications of trade imbalances, the tumultuous ebbs and flows of $200 billion a day in international currency trade, the growing role of foreign owners of American enterprise, and the establishment of business corporations here that are owned by foreign entities.

If you think back a couple of decades ago, just in the financial markets, who among us heard every morning what the prices of gold and silver are, what the dollar is doing in deutschmarks, in yen, in pound sterling? Who ever saw the transmission of information in financial markets and in the economic markets so speedily as we see it today? We have instant transmission, instant interpretation, instant action. So we are really linked, whether we like it or not.

Today it seems national borders exist in the political sense only. Economically speaking, the dividing lines between nations are becoming much more blurred than at any previous time.

But while most of us today share a belief in international interdependence, I fear that we have probably lost sight here at home of the interdependence of our culture with the environment in which we do business: the arts, education, and the humanities, those activities that define our culture and shape our great national institutions. Our libraries, museums, and universities are linked to our economy and to business.

Our cultural institutions are the best resources for what business needs most today: people who are not only smart technically and skilled economically, but people who have a highly developed world view. Private support for the arts

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and humanities in the United States has grown in the last decade or so, but we are in the midst of tough times that are forcing us to reevaluate what is important and vital and what we need in the future.

I for one conclude that, in an interdependent world, we in business have to deepen our links with those who understand, and can interpret, the world. Business and cultural institutions are linked. The more we must deal with the world, the more we have to know it.

The Institute of International Education is vital to the creation of what we would call the international experience. As Jim Evans indicated earlier today, each year as many as 10,000 men and women from 165 nations are involved with the Institute of International Education. Students from other countries come here, build skills, improve their cultural understanding and perspective, and are part of that international interdependent world. They also have the opportunity to build international networks with future professional colleagues. Foreign students who study in the United States gain not only technical knowledge and leadership skills, but also exposure to our democratic culture and, of course, to our values.

Let me be just a little more specific. Participants in the IIE exchange programs in the past year included more than 5,000 foreign participants in academic degree programs, virtually all in the United States. Participants in the IIE exchange programs included nearly 2,500 foreign students, technicians, and government and private sector leaders and specialists for whom the IIE arranged specialized non-degree training, including practical training and professional study visits.

Participants in our IIE program included 1,100 U.S. nationals in educational and cultural programs outside the United States, conducting independent research, serving as technicians and teaching assistants, and studying in foreign institutions. Over 650 accredited U.S. colleges and universities and six foreign institutions are affiliated with the IIE as educational associates.

Understanding cultural diversity is perhaps one of the greatest challenges of our global interdependence. As economic borders disintegrate and political borders shift, what remains are cultures.

Now these are statistics, but there is nothing better than to become involved in these programs, to meet a Nigerian student who is in the U.S. for graduate work in engineering and who is going back to his country to help build roads and public facilities; or to meet with a South African black who is here in an M.B.A. program and who will go back to South Africa perhaps to move through the management ladder, which was difficult to do for so long.

It is exhilarating to see a Polish student attending American universities and studying our political system, taking back with her or with him the knowledge of what we are about, knowledge that is so essential today with the opening of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. It is exciting to go to Japan and to see so many "Fulbrighters" who have been here and studied the United States, and who have done so much to move that country to great preeminence.

It is astounding to know that today there are several hundred world parliamentarians operating outside the United States who, at one time, have gone through our program at the Institute of International Education.

Understanding cultural diversity is perhaps one of the greatest challenges of our global interdependence. As economic borders disintegrate and political borders shift, what remains are cultures, as we heard earlier in the day. While West European political leaders try to unite the diverse national and cultural entities through a common market, cultural clashes are occurring in the Golan Heights and the Serbian battlefields. The cultural aspect will become increasingly important in providing that link between us.

We at the Institute of International Education are known for administering the Fulbright program, the Humphrey fellows, and an important South African program which we undertook years ago. But there are also hundreds of other programs that have been supported by the private sector and by the government that help us to facilitate this role of making this interdependent world a better one to live in.

Let me just close by reading to you a striking statement by John Adams, one of the founders of our democratic tradition. He defined so well what I would call the links of business and culture, and the hope that commerce will leave a legacy of culture, when he wrote to his wife in 1780 the following statement: "I must study politics and war that my sons may have liberty to study mathematics and philosophy, geography, and commerce, in order to give their children a right to study painting, poetry, music, architecture, tapestry, and porcelain."

All of us here have an obligation to further John Adams' aspiration by linking business, finance, and culture in a much more interdependent world in the future.

LUIS MONREAL
Director General of Fundacion "La Caixa"

There is a need to rethink the whole international system. We have to bring the private sector into the design of new strategies and structures.

I am somewhat overwhelmed: first by the audience, second by the quality of the speakers who preceded me, and last, but by no means not least, by the diversity and range of topics that we are supposed to cover this morning. I don't think I have ever seen a forum title that embraces so many subjects: *leadership, international experience, the private sector, culture,* and *diplomacy*. I shall certainly not be able to touch on every one and furthermore describe the work of "La Caixa" Foundation in just ten minutes. Instead, I aim to give you a more personal view, based on my experience in international cultural relationships.

As Mr. Billington mentioned earlier this morning, history always repeats itself. I would say that in the area of cultural relations, there are both similarities and differences between the present day situation and that of 1945.

Consider first the differences. For a start, this new world order we are announcing is not the direct result of war, although it could be said the Gulf war marked its beginning.

This new world order is characterized by two major factors: on the one hand the collapse of Communism in the Eastern bloc, and on the other the consolidation of the Western European union.

Furthermore there are differences in leadership. I think this new world order, a *pax Americana*, will be based on an uncontested United States supremacy in partnership with this newly consolidated Western Europe. It will not be like the unbalanced situation of 1945 with countries ravaged by war.

The final difference is that there was very little private sector initiative in the early years following the Second World War.

Nevertheless there is one major similarity in these two periods of history: we still believe that cultural exchange can further peace and the development of democracy.

It is significant to recall the words recorded in the UNESCO constitutional act in 1946, "As wars start in the minds of people, let us build in the minds of people the defenses of peace." Surely this is exactly what we are saying here today. However, if we analyze cultural cooperation since 1945 we find that mistakes have been made. It is essential that we learn from these mistakes, and so I would like to offer a brief personal analysis of where things have gone wrong.

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First, the multinational cultural exchange structures, created from 1945 onwards, have failed. This is evident from the inability of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization to fulfill a credible role. I am, of course, talking about UNESCO and, as you all know, an incomplete UNESCO since the departure of the United States from its membership in 1985.

The second factor that leads me to believe that cultural cooperation has failed is our neglect of the developing nations' cultural needs, particularly over the past ten years. Recently, the greater part of resources once destined for the Third World has been redirected to the powerful magnet of the former socialist countries in Eastern Europe. This is an indication of a general uninterest about the Third World, and I think this lack of interest is deeply rooted in the capitalist economy.

We could possibly learn from ancient history. In the 6th century B.C. the Greeks set out to colonize the western Mediterranean. There they found a primitive people, amongst whom were my ancestors. These people had few economic resources, so the Greeks provided them with the knowledge of how to cultivate olive trees and how to produce wine. Why? So the primitive people would have the resources to be able to buy Greek goods.

I think one of the problems of our world is that since the Second World War we have not given the developing nations sufficient means to build up their own economies and cultures.

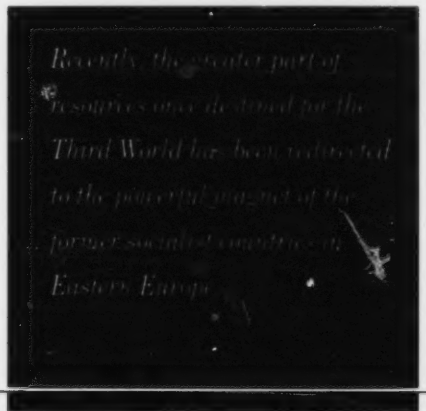
Bilateral aid has also abandoned the Third World, making for a dramatic situation in Africa and the Islamic world. I understand the difficulties the industrialized nations face when working with the Third World countries — I suffered myself when I was managing international programs.

First, there are cultural barriers. As Governor Kean said earlier this morning, we do not understand their societies, their beliefs, their idiosyncracies, their traditions, their social structures. We do not understand even the power structures, whether formal or informal.

There are also psychological barriers. It is a question of attitudes. We still have a latent neo-colonial approach in our relationships with the Third World. We are paternalistic. We pay lip-service to the principle of equal partnership. Furthermore there are political barriers. The Third World doesn't seem to be a political priority any longer.

Finally, there are moral and managerial problems. Corruption is commonplace in the Third World, and it is always difficult to control projects and to assure a reasonable ratio of costs to benefits. All of these factors lead to a great waste of resources in activities carried out in developing nations.

As a result we feel discouraged, both at the governmental and at the private sector levels. But if we do not pay attention to the growing needs of the developing nations we will fuel in them a sense of isolation, and their intelligentsia will become militant against the "privileged" societies.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Eastern Europe

Looking ahead, I believe that the real problems are not only in Eastern Europe but in the Mediterranean basin as well. Take the problem of Islam and integration. Islamic fundamentalism has become an issue because of keen resentment of Western attitudes amongst large sections of the Muslim community. The West has shown little understanding of their culture and religious philosophy. As a result, a dangerous antagonism now exists between Islam and the West. It is an instructive example of a mishandled relationship.

I would like to conclude with a couple of very broad strokes on the future. If we believe we have an obligation to continue fostering democracy in the developing world, then we need to create new approaches and strategies. We must anticipate the future. At present our governments are always the last to learn the reality of the world. The revolution in Iran, for example, was forecast by many academics specializing in Iranian affairs, but not by the official secret services. This will remain a problem. Scholars anticipate because they know their subject. Governments do not.

Second, we should not try to establish our cultural relationships in terms of competition. As I said earlier, the new order will be dominated by the overwhelming presence of the United States

and Western Europe. We run the risk of being an enormous elephant, heavy and overbearing; this alone is a reason for being even more sensitive to the needs of the Third World.

We should not flood the Third World with our cultural products. We should provide opportunites for their cultural products to be diffused in our countries, which will result in a better understanding between societies.

In addition there is a need to rethink the whole international system. The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization doesn't serve a purpose, and we must decide if there is any justification for such an entity. We have to bring the private sector into the design of new strategies and structures. And we need statesmen of culture, a very rare species. Until now, nobody has been elected on the strength of their cultural proposals. Politicians are elected for other reasons. I think politicians should start to realize that culture is an important banner to fly. In many European governments the ministry of culture has become as visible as the ministry of finance or defense. Corroborating Sir Richard Francis' comment about the United Kingdom, let me add that in France the consumption of cultural products totalled 160,000 billion francs last year, which represents 4 percent of the gross industrial product of the country.

In the future I envisage the private sector not merely investing in culture,

If we believe we have an obligation to continue fostering democracy in the developing world, then we need to create new approaches and strategies.

but rather providing independent support. Culture should not be left in the hands of government. Government produces poor culture, bad art. Totalitarian governments build pyramids that add very little to the lives of people.

Finally, we need research and coordination. We need a good combination of both state and private interests for the greater benefit of the community.

GEORGE SOROS
Founder of the Central European University and the Open Society Foundations in Central and Eastern Europe

The philosophy that prevails in the West at the moment, seems to hold that the pursuit of self-interest will lead, through an invisible hand, to the best possible arrangement for all. That is, I am afraid, not the case.

I think the best thing I can do is to tell you what we are trying to accomplish in Central and Eastern Europe. It will not be easy for me to do, because frankly I don't quite know everything that we are doing. There is an awful lot going on that surprises me.

This is by design, because I believe in an open society, and our foundation network is a prototype of an open society. At present, we have thirteen foundations in thirteen countries — five of them in the former Soviet Union — and each one is run locally by a group of distinguished people who believe in the same ideas that I do — namely, pluralism and democracy: an open society. Each foundation has its own character. It has its own programs, its own priorities. It also has its own successes and its own failures.

But we also try to do things together. We have regional programs. We try to take the things that work in one country and introduce them in another. We have a central office for our foundation network in New York, which works with all the foundations in the region and connects them. We also encourage the foundations to communicate directly with one another. So we have East/West programs, coordinated in New York, and East/East programs, which connect the foundations directly. There are many foundations engaged in East/West programs, but there are very few doing East/East, for which the need is great.

I don't think I can give you a description of all our activities. Our brochure does give a flavor of all the things we do. It is a little bit out of date because it was printed two weeks ago and a lot has happened since then!

Maybe I should say a word about the philosophy behind our programs. When we first started, around 1979, our goal was to become an institution of civil society in these countries. I believed that by introducing pluralism into a monolithic structure, the falsehood of the dogma would become apparent and the system would collapse. It has been quite a different thing to imagine this progression in the abstract and to see it actually occur.

As it did occur, however, we shifted our objective and now, rather than building a civil society distinct from (and often in opposition to) the state, we are trying to help build the institutions of a democratic state. So as you can see, we are more engaged in building institutions than we are in demolishing them. Still, pluralism remains very important, and we must continue to foster mainly non-governmental institutions.

I will give you a few examples from our media program. We managed to help set up a network of independent television stations in Romania where the media are totally dominated by a government that hasn't changed its spots all that much. I was pleased last week when I heard that the government has agreed to give this network one hour of prime time on the state network. (I must say that the current prime minister, Theodor

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Stolojan, is a very decent man. I am quite surprised that he agreed to this, and I hope it will actually happen.) We are also trying to put together a syndicate to supply paper to independent newspapers between now and the elections. They will need 2,400 metric tons to be able to publish. And we are setting up some independent radio stations, because radio is the most cost effective way to reach people.

Another project that I think might interest this audience is in Hungary where the Fine Arts Documentation Center has developed over the last few years into a center of modern and avant-garde art. In order for cultural rejuvenation to occur, the creative spirit must be nurtured, and the Arts Documentation Center has tried to do that. It is a lively place with some very interesting, international art. Finding it congenial, some artists from the West have actually moved to Hungary. This innovative program is being replicated throughout the region. The lady who is running the Hungarian center will train other people to run similar centers in other countries.

Now, I should mention one project that is actually foundering. It is what we call the East-West Management Institute, which is designed to prepare, select, and then place interns in Western enterprises to learn business or a profession. We have set up a network and put the procedures in place. We have operated on a shoestring budget generally, and yet it costs about a quarter of a million dollars a year. Here we have been rather unsuccessful because we depend on the willingness of Western enterprises to receive interns. Unless the volume picks up and we are able to move more people, we are going to wind it up.

We are happy to work with other foundations. We encourage them to contact the individual open society foundations, because each one has its own character. Some are wonderful. Bulgaria is functioning amazingly well. Romania is very good. And we have done wonders in Ukraine.

We generally don't fund Western institutions. We are not grant makers in the West, but the foundations in the Eastern European countries are very receptive and will fund Western activities of their nationals.

There are partnership opportunities. I'll mention a few examples. Junior Achievement has been introduced in Soviet schools. It just happens to be extremely well suited to the requirements there. It ranks as "senior achievement" there and is very well received! We are trying to make it as broadly available as possible. We have promoted Alcoholics Anonymous in Poland, using some trainers from the United States. We also work with the National Forum, which has brought a number of interns to Washington.

The centerpiece of the whole foundation network is going to be the Central European University, which is already in existence. It is a rather unusual university because it combines a post-graduate university with a grant-making foundation. We have campuses in Prague and Budapest and we will have four schools — Social Sciences, Humanities, Environmental Studies, and Professional Studies — as the core of the University. In addition, we are supporting teaching in other universities and we also grant research support on an open application basis.

In order for cultural rejuvenation to occur, the creative spirit must be nurtured.

I hope this has given you a flavor of what we are doing. I feel obliged, however, to end on a jarring note: The situation in the former Soviet Union is very serious, and people are perhaps not sufficiently aware of what is going on. There is a revolution taking place. It is the culmination of the struggle between two systems of thought, two systems of organization. One I call open and the other closed.

Communism has clearly collapsed, and you might think that means a victory for democracy, pluralism, and a market economy. But I am afraid that is not the case.

Communism is a universal closed system. As it breaks up, it is more likely to break up into smaller national closed systems. There is a great danger of what is now called national communism, which is in a way a pun on national socialism, or Nazism. You can see it emerging.

The fact is that an open society is a complex, sophisticated system. You can't get there just by destroying the framework of a monolithic dogmatic system. You can't get there without assistance from the outside. This goes against the philosophy that prevails in the West at the moment, which seems to hold that the pursuit of self-interest will lead, through an invisible hand, to the best possible arrangement for all. That is, I am afraid, not the case.

This open system, the market system and democratic government, needs to be maintained and nurtured. People must believe in it and be prepared to make some sacrifices for its sake. You know, freedom is like the air. If you have it, you don't notice it. You have to be deprived of it to appreciate it. Freedom is at stake. The need for outside assistance is great. That is why I am devoting so much of my time, energy and money to it.

QUESTION: *Mr. Monreal, I was interested in your remarks about the Third World, and I want to find out what suggestions you would have for fostering further cultural relations with the Third World.*

MR. MONREAL: We, the industrialized democratic nations, have to rebalance the situation. We are strongly reacting to circumstances that are diverting most of our resources to Eastern Europe, and in the past five years — I cannot quote figures here — the other developing nations in Latin America, Africa, the Islamic world, and Asia, have lost more than half of the resources from the private sector that used to be there.

So I would suggest that our policies should be built on a more long-term basis, looking at the long-term interests of the industrialized nations in order to strike a balance.

The second thing, as I have already said, is a matter of attitude, of rethinking the methods of cooperation with the Third World. For instance, the experience of the past 40 years shows that training abroad for people in Third World countries is only adequate in certain cases and at certain levels. Training, generally speaking, should be done in the context where these people live and work, which is rather different than the context they find in the Western world.

So it should be a combination of both a strategic thinking and rethinking of methods and approaches.

MRS. CHENEY: Sir Richard, you had a reaction while Mr. Monreal was speaking.

SIR RICHARD FRANCIS: We have been following this with particular concern, because it is true that the governments of Africa and South Asia are concerned that the First World is drawing money out of the investments in training in the Third World and putting it eastward into the Second World, Eastern and Central Europe.

The latest figures I have with regard to the U.K. contribution — and I have no reason to believe from my own observations that we are very different from our European partners — is something on the order of a two percent shift this year compared to last. Now that is actually quite a severe shift, and it certainly is a shift.

But what I was shaking my head about was actually the point about the private investment in the Third World. The sad fact is that there is a very low level of private sector input into cultural relations in Africa and South Asia to start with. And even if there has been a shift, it is more on the side of the public sector than the private sector. I deplore the fact that the investment is at this low level.

MRS. CHENEY: I think it would be fair to wrap up this panel by saying that there certainly has been some consensus. We all recognize the strong commitment on the part of government throughout the world to the arts and the humanities, at least the governments we are speaking of here. I can certainly testify for the United States.

The President is strongly committed to the arts and the humanities. But while the public sector is important, it is not enough. The private sector is needed. We have heard that time and again around this table.

I appreciate the eloquence of our panelists in making this point, and I would also like to thank you, Don Hall, for the work that you do as chairman of the President's Committee on the Arts and the Humanities, an organization that is devoted to increasing private sector support for these important undertakings. And I would like to thank you as well for the work that you have done to bring this conference together.

CHANGE IN THE WORLD: THE CHALLENGE TO AMERICAN CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS

JOHN E. FROHNMAYER
Chairman of the
National Endowment for the Arts

To paraphrase the enabling legislation of the Endowments from 1965, Congress stated that the leadership that had been cast upon the United States in the world was not just a leadership of military or economic might, but also a leadership in the realm of ideas and of the spirit. From that grew the Endowments, and certainly in that same vein come the kinds of programs that are so ably carried out by the USIA.

Many countries — France, Great Britain, and Mexico, for example — have specific cultural policies that identify and define the nature of their cultural patrimony. They have sought, in some cases, to protect objects or ideas. The United States does not have an articulable policy of that kind. It has many policies, some of which are in conflict with each other.

To address this subject, the National Endowment for the Arts and the Annenberg Project held a seminar about a month ago. It was interesting to note that the debate basically aligned itself between those who saw patrimony in the nature of objects, and those cultural anthropologists who tended to see art and society in a macro sense, as things which ought to be viewed together.

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We in the United States have a great deal of thinking to do about these issues in trying to articulate for ourselves what it is that we value as our culture. The speakers this afternoon will, in their various ways, address this issue either directly or indirectly.

This is an opportunity for us to look at ourselves as a part of the world community. We in the United States are blessed with citizens who represent every country, every society, every culture in the world. That is both one of our greatest opportunities and one of our greatest challenges: to try to accommodate a multiplicity of cultures that really reflect the entire world.

Our international activities enrich our culture and help us better understand ourselves, other nations, and how we fit into the world. I would just mention one initiative that we witnessed firsthand when we were in Mexico about a month ago. It is an exemplary and imaginative new program, jointly funded by the Rockefeller Foundation, the National Fund for Culture and the Arts of Mexico, the Mexican Institute of Culture, and Bancomer, a major Mexican financial institution, to promote exchange on an individual basis between Mexico and the United States. This new fund, which is just in the process of getting underway, will have about $1 million per year to spend on international exchanges.

Let's now go on to the extraordinarily gifted and accomplished panel. First, Maya Angelou, a wonderful and inspiring speaker, a Renaissance woman in an age of specialization. She brings the artist's view to this panel and, believe me, there is no one better to articulate it than she.

MAYA ANGELOU
Author

In this gathering today, these men and women with such amazing power to turn not only our country but the world around, it is wise, I think, for us to consider how similar we are: that human beings are more alike than we are unalike.

My seat-mate this morning told me in very clear tones that I am a story teller. So I decided that my remarks will be a story, a true story. The burden of my song is pluralism in education and in the arts, always and in all ways.

For many years of my youth I was a mute, a volunteer mute. I had a voice but chose, or thought I chose, not to use it. For almost six years I didn't speak. I thought of myself, my whole body, as an ear. I felt I could go into a room and absorb all the sound. As a consequence, it is my blessing to speak a number of languages and to teach in a few. I like the sound of the human voice.

I joined *Porgy and Bess* as their *premiere danseuse*. I was really the first dancer, but I was too phony to say first dancer, so I always said *la prima ballerina* and things like that, and I tried to always stand in second position. If I was going for a hot dog I would stand in second position.

I sang the role of Ruby. I sang by heart; I had no training as a singer. With State Department support, *Porgy and Bess* toured throughout Europe and when we left France, en route to Yugoslavia, I decided to learn Serbo-Croat. I hired a woman in France to teach me. She was a Yugoslav. I am black, obviously, and Southern, which is also obvious. So my Serbo-Croat had the burden of being both Southern and also informed by the French accent of the Yugoslavian woman.

When we arrived in Zagreb I went to the hotel room where I was assigned, and there was a concierge. As soon as I put my bags down I went back to her and said in Serbo-Croat, "Is there anything of interest to be found near the hotel?"

She said, "Yes, go back down to the train station where you came in, turn left, and go down that way and you will come to a museum." And I said to her, just over the moon, "I have spoken Serbo-Croat!"

And she said "Yeah." She was so certain that everybody did, and that was nothing unusual.

When we arrived in Belgrade the State Department declared that all members of *Porgy and Bess* had to stay within four square blocks of the hotel and four square blocks of the theater. So we would be carried by bus from place to place.

I thought — I was very young, and I haven't told you that I was blitheringly ignorant too — that even if I had a million dollars I would never go to Yugoslavia again. So while I was there I was going to see something.

I met a couple, a young man and woman my age, and they invited me to their home and to a party. They said it was outside of Belgrade. I hesitated for about a second and then said yes, I would go.

The people in *Porgy and Bess* said that I was mad to go there. But I persevered.

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The night of the party a truck came to the backstage entrance of the theater and I was hauled onto the truck with about 30 people standing. We linked arms on the truck bed and shared a bottle of slivovitz. We passed it around and sang and held hands, and as we got outside of Belgrade I started to become nervous.

We passed through farm land and finally came to a house that looked like a Charles Addams house, with the turrets and griffins. I was terrified, but I got out of the truck and walked into the house, and there was a record playing. It was Billie Holiday. Outside Belgrade, Yugoslavia, in a huge cavernous Charles Addams house, I heard "Mean to me. Why must you be mean to me?" I couldn't believe it.

I went into the party, had a wonderful time, and after about an hour an old lady came in. She was about 4'10", bowed and bowled over by life and time and malaise. She knew everybody. People bent to greet her. Then she looked in the corner and saw me, and she screamed.

My host and all the other young people came apologetically to me, "Please forgive her. Please forgive her." I said "No, no. I understand. If I had lived all my life to 90-some years and had not seen a white person, it would scare me to death."

I began to speak to her in Serbo-Croat. I had the most primitive, the most bare grasp of the language, but I said to her "I like your home. I thank you very much. I like the food. I like the people. It is very pretty here." And she started coming to me slowly, slowly, slowly. When she got close enough, I continued talking. I continued to speak in Serbo-Croat until she got close enough to touch me, and to her surprise the color didn't come off!

And then she touched my hair and she looked at me. She said to the room at large, "Bring food," and her granddaughter said "She has already eaten." I said "No, bring food. Bring food." So I ate it and she saw me chew it and swallow it. And then she said "Bring drink." So they brought slivovitz, and, properly, one is supposed to take the little spoonful of the preserve and put it in the mouth and then dump the slivovitz down, and then another spoon of preserve. And I did that.

She patted my cheek, patted my hair, patted my shoulder, and said "Beautiful." And she disappeared. And all the guests were saying "Oh, you handled it so well!" And then suddenly out of the same door came an older person and smaller, an old man even more bent over than she. And when he didn't look immediately to the corner where I was sitting I knew she was playing a joke on him. So they came in. He spoke to everybody. He bowed. Then he looked at the corner and saw me and screamed. And she said, "Don't do that! That is a very nice girl. Don't do that."

So I started speaking to him in Serbo-Croat. "Good evening. I am happy to be here. I like your home. I like your food. I like the people. Everything is nice." And he came to me little steps by little steps. He touched my face, he felt my hair, and then he ordered food. I said yes, I will eat it. Yes, drink, I will have it. And then he sat down beside me. And here now is the power of pluralism in education and culture.

He sat down beside me and asked me, "Who is your grandfather?" I said, "Well, my grandfather is Bailey James Johnson." He asked, "Who is his father?" I said "Thomas Bailey Johnson." I was talking about the people in Stamps, Arkansas, a town about as large as the top of this podium.

He sat there, holding his chin, and said "Bailey James Johnson, Bailey James Johnson, Bailey Jamesonovitch. I know him!" He said "I know him. He lived on the other side of the mountain. He is very dark like you." He said, "Yes, he wasn't a very good farmer. His father was a good farmer."

I learned in those moments the power of language, the power of words, and the power of culture to make the statement of Terence absolutely true: "*Homo sum. Humani nihil a me alienum puto.*" I am a human being. Nothing human can be alien to me.

In this gathering today, these men and women with such amazing power to turn not only our country but the world around, it is wise, I think, for us to consider how similar we are: that human beings are more alike than we are unalike.

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DONALD M. KENDALL
Former Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of PepsiCo, Inc.

Great art knows no boundaries. It transcends artificial barriers. And so does good business.

Good afternoon, ladies and gentlemen. It is always a great pleasure to come to a place where you have so many friends. You have asked me to discuss a specific subject — how an international art event benefits a sponsoring corporation.

Many of you, I am sure, have visited our sculpture garden in New York. We have 160 acres with 50 major sculpture pieces, and it is a beautiful sight looking out my office window. But when I look out that window and see these sculptures I quickly realize that great art is really a lesson in geography. It knows no boundaries. It transcends artificial barriers. And so does good business.

A great product is rarely limited to geography. A marketing slogan usually translates pretty easily, despite what the Governor said. And excellent business managers and employees come equally from Europe, Asia, and America.

To operate effectively in the world today a business man or woman is not boxed in by borders, not limited by languages.

That is also a primary quality of art, and I am here to testify that the partnership works, even for an unapologetic businessman like myself.

Now some of you are probably thinking that these lofty and philosophical thoughts are all well and good for a businessman like myself, but we artists have to worry about the bottom line. So for you pragmatists out in the audience, let me report that art also has some immediate dollars and cents value to an international business. And let me use PepsiCo as an example.

Way back in the 1940's Pepsi-Cola's marketing slogan was "Twice as much for a nickel too." It was a good strategy for a while, but not with millions of veterans coming home and their standard of living rising. Pepsi-Cola was fast becoming known as the kitchen cola. You would serve it in the back room with the pots and pans, but never in good company in the parlor.

And our problem was even deeper than that. We weren't just a kitchen cola, we were a kitchen company. We were perceived as second rate, and it meant we couldn't attract great people. So we set about to change our image.

Part of the story is the now legendary "Pepsi generation" advertising. But behind the scene we used community involvement to change the attitude of opinion leaders. We understood that business has to earn its respect from society at large. Some segments of society are skeptical of business and others are downright hostile.

In our case, we concluded that in New York it would make sense to reach out to the people who support the arts. They just happened to be the group of opinion leaders most skeptical of business. If you can change their mind on that subject, you just might change their opinion of your company.

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So in the middle and late 1960's PepsiCo became a strong contributor to the American Ballet Theater. I even succeeded in convincing Mikhail Baryshnikov to become its artistic director after a night of good wine, vodka, and Armenian brandy.

Now I am not going to argue that sponsoring a ballet set us on a course to become *Fortune*'s fifth most admired company, but it did help us because it started associating our company with images of excellence. And through the years we kept it up in big ways and small ways.

Perhaps the most interesting way was through our 10-year sponsorship of the International Arts Festival in Purchase, New York, called PepsiCo Summerfare. It started as a community relations gesture, a way to help a neighbor. The State University of New York had just built a performing arts campus across the street from us on a large empty piece of land. They also built a magnificent performing arts center with four great stages and a wonderful theater, but unfortunately they were empty.

The school had no resources to attract great performers. Consequently, the place was largely abandoned, especially during the summer. The idea behind PepsiCo Summerfare was multi-dimensional and very grand. We hoped it would fill up empty theaters during the summer months, get some much needed publicity for the school, help attract teachers and students, bring in some revenue and, most of all, associate the university with excellence.

For the university it did all of that and then some. But for us it did even more. It attracted not only crowds of art lovers, but also carloads of newspaper reporters, critics and reviewers from all over the world. At one point we were accrediting as many as 100 journalists to a single performance of a given work. And most of those reporters were from overseas.

When these journalists returned home they wrote about opera, theater, ballet — and PepsiCo. The name PepsiCo appeared everywhere, generating literally thousands of news clippings a week through the entire festival. In the *New York Times* we would get a story just about every day for a month. We would get equal space in London, Amsterdam and Tokyo.

Now I admit that all of this didn't happen the first year or without pain. We learned a lot as we went along. For example, we learned that naked ballet dancers can draw a fair amount of angry letters to a soft drink company. We also learned that when a guy named Peter Sellars sets a Handel opera in Miami Beach, or the "Marriage of Figaro" in Trump Tower, lots of people don't like it.

All that made us rather nervous for a while, until we realized that even the severest critics respected artistic freedom and expression in this kind of setting. No matter how mad they were at the Mozart, they liked PepsiCo. We had a hands-off policy. We selected an artistic director and stood back.

As a matter of fact, Christopher Hunt, the artistic director, is here with us today. The more experimental he became, the more controversial he became. And the more extensive press coverage for the festival became, the more extensive it became for PepsiCo.

International business and art sponsorship go together perfectly. It is a matter of enlightenment and self interest.

Even I have to admit some of this stuff was pretty weird. The plays in Polish, without translations; the John Cage opera that mixed snippets of music, libretto, costume, action, and lighting from favorite operas, all randomly selected by the computer, so the orchestra might be playing Verdi, the tenor singing Puccini, and the scene depicted action from Rossini. But it was a lot of fun — for about five minutes. By the end of five hours even Rudolph Bing would have walked out.

Still, PepsiCo was praised abundantly. The more risks we took, the more raves we received, and we still get them. The festival, which was designed to run for ten years, ended two summers ago, yet we still receive newspaper clippings about it. And all of us meet business associates who read about it or have attended.

We got a lot more than our money's worth from the publicity alone. I conclude by saying that international business and art sponsorship go together perfectly. It is a matter of enlightenment and self interest.

I will close with a comment that I think makes the case better than anything I have ever heard. I refer to the famous saying of Winston Churchill: "We make a living by what we get, but we make a life by what we give." The living made by modern corporations is measured in objective terms: net income, market share, and price/earnings ratio. But the lives of modern corporations are probably measured by something more elusive: the way we touch our communities, lift up our societies, and give our people a chance to grow.

You won't find that on the profit and loss statement, but it is something the Medicis, the Carnegies, and the Rockefellers understood long ago, as do many people in this room. It is a lesson I hope corporate leaders will never forget as we enter a new century.

WILLIAM H. LUERS
President of the
Metropolitan Museum of Art

I will make the bold statement that no Western nation places the arts at such a low level in the priorities of their society as the United States.

The challenges to cultural institutions are several, in addition to the rather modest challenge listed in the program, which is to change the world!

I want to mention three: to raise the priority given to the arts and the humanities in American society, to expand Americans' appreciation of their own and foreign cultures, and to convey to foreign nations and foreign visitors to the United States the creativity and artistic and humanistic impulses that still are so much alive in this country today.

First, let me speak about the priority given in American society to the arts and humanities. I will make the bold statement that no Western nation that I have lived in or experienced, and there are many of them, places the arts at such a low level in the priorities of their society as the United States. This *is* a bold statement. It comes from anecdotes and experience, not from any statistical study.

But I can cite one study: I went to a book published by the Library of Congress called *Respectfully Quoted*. The Congressional Research Service pretentiously calls it a dictionary of quotations, and it is prepared for members of Congress to use in speaking to the nation.

There are five quotes under the category "arts" in that book, and all of them come from a speech by John F. Kennedy. Apparently, nobody else has either spoken on the subject or is worthy of being quoted on the subject, according to the Congressional Research Service.

When you look at President Bush's goals for improving American education by the year 2000, there is no mention of the arts. In raising a well-rounded American youth in this country, who considers the study of poetry or the aesthetic sense of the visual and performing arts in that process?

Let me provide you with a few anecdotes from my experience in life, not to be self-serving but so that you know what has shaped me and why I feel so strongly about this.

In the 1950's I lived in Italy, where so many Americans have first experienced the power and the glory of the muses. Indeed, most of our 19th and early 20th century artists and writers had their initial exposure in Italy.

I studied in the house bequeathed to the Institute of Historical Studies in Naples by Benedetto Croce, the great philosopher of aesthetics who remained a strong and defiant voice during the time of Mussolini. He also wrote the first great critique of Marx in the late 19th century. It was Croce's vision and determination to establish a liberal and free society that helped shape modern democratic Italy. And he won, ultimately, over the extreme ideologies of the right and the left.

In 1965 in Moscow I took a *Newsweek* correspondent to the apartment of a dissident and playwright named Andrei

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Amalrik to meet the remarkable Soviet underground painter Anatoly Zveryev. We were going to prepare the first cover story in *Newsweek* on Soviet underground art, which nobody at that time knew existed. The KGB knocked on the door while I was there. They sent me back to my apartment, the correspondent back to his, and they sent Amalrik to Siberia. He was in Siberia for five years where he wrote a book entitled *Will the Soviet Union Survive Until 1984?* Andrei missed by only a few years.

The Soviet government so feared and respected the power of the arts that it sought to crush the artists and humanists who ultimately, even before *glasnost*, revealed the great fraud of that system.

In 1979 as Ambassador to Venezuela I invited some prominent American contemporary artists to a vernissage of American paintings that they had lent to the American embassy. The vernissage was attended by the President of Venezuela and virtually his entire cabinet. This occurred while OPEC was riding high, and the prices of oil were riding with it. After this event the leading columnist, who certainly wasn't pro-American, came up to me and said, "Bill, after that evening, you can say anything you want about oil prices and I will publish it."

In Latin America it is association with the arts that gives you entry into the society and its politics. There are Latin Americans here who will testify to that.

In 1984, early during my tour as Ambassador to Czechoslovakia, my wife and I befriended a playwright, Vaclav Havel. Over the years we invited dozens of American writers and intellectuals to Prague to visit with Vaclav Havel and his fellow artists and writers. The Communist government officially protested my relations with Havel and threatened that they wouldn't deal with me. They had come to fear Havel perhaps more than NATO. It was Havel, his fellow artists, and the youth of Czechoslovakia who blew the Communist party away. Today it is Havel who, as President of Czechoslovakia, speaks with that universal voice of a humanist, and not the voice of a narrow ethnic nationalist, that makes so much sense to that part of the world.

In response to all the clamor and warfare against the arts that has been going on in this country, my wife Wendy, who serves with John Frohnmayer on the National Council for the Arts, wears a watch that says "Fear No Art." But I tell her "No, that watch has got it wrong." Over the centuries nations have either respected the arts or they have feared them greatly.

The great American cultural institutions have tried, with some success, to overcome this problem of the low priority given to the arts. In Washington Jim Wolfensohn and Carter Brown have attracted some of the politically powerful people in the city to participate in cultural activities. But we must begin to get the arts to our children at an early age, both in their homes and in their schools. That is the major step we can take to raise the priority of the arts in our society.

The second challenge is to expand our appreciation of world cultures and our own rich diversity. Even in the climate of political correctness at home and of a dramatic revival of nationalistic ethnic tensions around the world, America remains insensitive to the need to comprehend and penetrate these differences through the study of foreign languages and cultures.

Maya Angelou said it much better than I could. Only through the study of foreign languages and cultures can we possibly understand what is going on outside our country. This is axiomatic, and yet the surge of the world to learn English further increases the American pathological resistance to the study of foreign languages and cultures.

But museums, universities, and theaters are making a difference. One only has to visit the National Gallery's ambitious and stunningly successful exhibition, "Circa 1492," to appreciate the capacity of museums and art to excite the eye and the mind, to bring unity to the variety of the world's human, intellectual and artistic experience.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art's exhibition, "Mexico: Splendors of 30 Centuries," became a model for how art can transcend the limits of the daily news and expand human experience.

Mexico's relationship with the United States has historically been so complicated, so tense, and potentially so disruptive, that Americans carry around a host of preconceptions and narrow visions about this vast southern neighbor. One American thinks about Mexico and worries about drugs; another about illegal immigration; another about the difficulty of communications; another about trade or dumping; another about gas or oil or poverty. The list is endless, yet few Americans are capable of grasping the enormity of Mexico as a nation, with one of the richest and longest cultures in the entire world.

Through the exhibition of more than 400 objects spanning 3,000 years of culture, literally hundreds of thousands of Americans were able to experience the monumental force and remarkable continuity of Mexican culture. Art, from the ancient Olmecs and the Mayas through the colonial period to the great 20th century Mexican muralists, allowed Americans to experience Mexico as a whole perhaps for the first time.

President Salinas came to his presidency as we were completing the discussions with the Mexican government to help organize this vast undertaking. Without

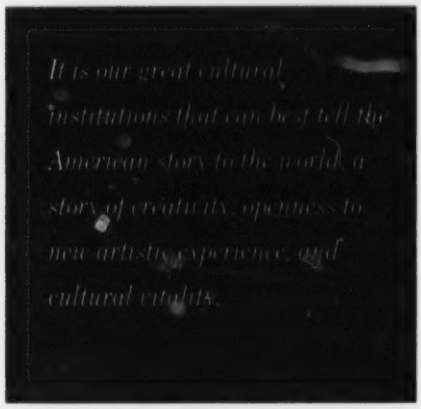
his support such an exhibition would have been impossible. But his decision was never in doubt. Instinctively, he knew the role of culture as an international language. It never was a question. How many American presidents could react so quickly to such an artistic phenomenon?

Octavio Paz, the Mexican Nobel Laureate in literature and one of the great universal minds of our age, conceived this exhibition years before the U.S.-Mexico free trade agreement was even thought of. In so many ways our cultural institutions have been able to open the minds of Americans to allow us to understand that as the ideological debate is put behind us, as the debate between communism and capitalism ends, the struggle to comprehend ethnic and cultural differences is with us. Every day it is with us, and it is getting more severe.

But neither free market ideas, nor fundamentalist religion, nor progressive ideologies are going to help us through this next era. Doctrines will not help modern societies to surmount the Tower of Babel of hostile ethnicity that threatens these wonderful new opportunities to world peace and democracy.

It is the humanists, the artists, and the poets who will show us the way. To paraphrase Octavio Paz, in the post-ideological era poetry — the arts and the humanities — will provide the antidote to our over-reliance on technology and the free market as a solution to all our problems.

Finally, it is our great cultural institutions that can best tell the American story to the world, a story of creativity, openness to new artistic experience, and cultural vitality, despite the low status given in this country to artists and humanists. This is the great paradox of our society.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There is not a country in the world that doesn't try to send its best musicians and artists to the United States. And there is not an artist or musician who does not somehow find his or her real test here in America, who does not seek at some point the energizing environment of one of our cities or one of our great universities.

Why do we not tell this story? We are the cauldron of cultural change in the world, but we do not even know it as a government or as a people. We pay little attention to how the rest of the world seeks out this creativity.

From a purely economic sense, as Don Kendall was saying, that is wrong. We do not promote tourism to our great cultural institutions, yet tourism is one of our major industries. New York City's visitors and conventions bureau spends only $2 million a year promoting tourism for the city of New York, but if we continue the way we are going, it may be the only industry in New York.

Cultural institutions are a major draw, but the visitors bureau promotes restaurants and shopping. The Mexico exhibition at the Met drew over 650,000 people in ten weeks. An astonishing 70 percent of those people came from outside the New York area, and according to a survey, 64 percent said they visited New York primarily to see the exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum. Seventy percent of those surveyed said they had never visited Mexico but would do so soon.

Our survey indicates that tourists who came to the city and visited our exhibition spent $224 million in the city during their visit. Our mayor, David Dinkins, has come to realize this phenomenon, stating recently that the arts are a $7 billion industry in our city. This is in addition to the inestimable value that the arts bring to the quality of life.

What are our challenges? The arts and humanities must become a part of the early education of all Americans. This is a priority that must be in the President's program and in the President's Committee's work, and it must be before us today.

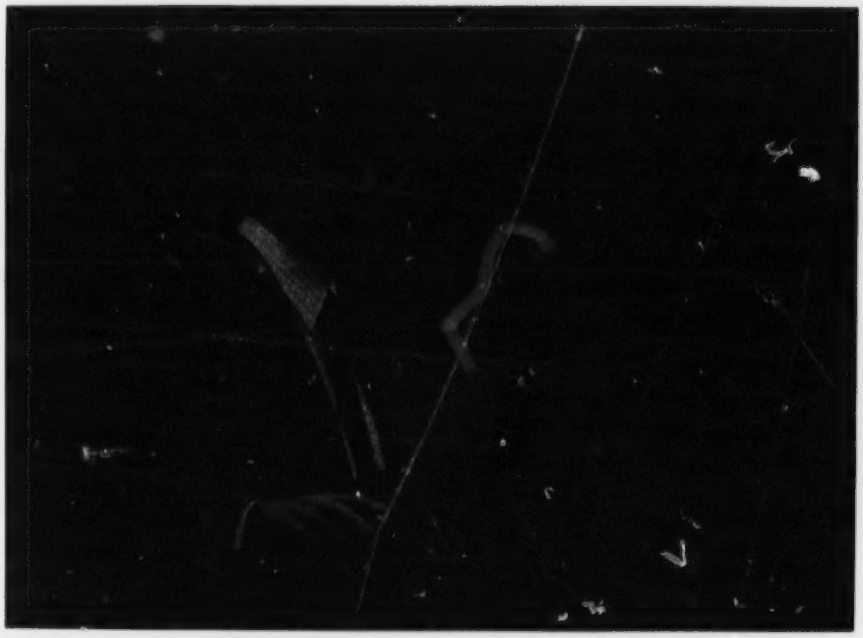
The National Endowment for the Arts and the National Endowment for the Humanities must be expanded and strengthened instead of battered the way they have been recently. Just as the WPA gave us works in the 1930's that began the great birth of the arts in America, the Endowments today can bring us back together because the work they support is so much a part of who we are.

We must promote tourism, and the nation's largest cultural institutions should be strengthened by the federal government so they can get through these difficult periods and carry out their task.

But, most of all, could not leaders in our communities, our state governments, and our national government find that voice that recognizes that the arts not only make good political sense but stand for what is America? Could they not find the voice of a Maya Angelou?

BENNO C. SCHMIDT, JR.
President of Yale University

To an extraordinary extent it is the work of our colleges and universities that carry forward, here and in the world, those great ideas and purposes — our commitment to freedom and justice — and those achievements of art and imagination that have transformed the world quite as much as economic and political forces.



A university president these days experiences a sense of liberation coming to Washington. When asked why he left the presidency of Princeton to become President of the United States, Woodrow Wilson used to say "because I couldn't stand the politics." I think I know what he meant.

All the speakers this morning have reminded us that the last few years have thrust us into a new world far more rapidly than any of us could have dreamed. The end of the Cold War, the collapse of Communism, the liberation of Eastern Europe, the disintegration of the Soviet Union, and the wholesale dismantling of barriers to the movement of people, ideas and commerce are part of a historical transformation that is comparable in significance to the changes that flowed from the European discovery of the New World, the industrial revolution, or the great democratic revolutions in the West in the 18th century.

One consequence of this larger transformation will be the transformation of America's educational institutions, particularly our great research centers, which are America's world universities. These universities face special challenges as they seek to adjust to the extraordinary changes in the world.

Our institutions of higher education in America now stand at the leading edge of America's international competitiveness. Even if there are today many areas in which America seriously lags other nations, higher education is surely not one of them.

If America is to hope to maintain its global leadership in the next century, the continued excellence and vibrancy of American universities and colleges will be an important reason. But, in fact, our universities have a far more important role to play here in this country and in the new world order than simply trying to keep America competitive.

To an extraordinary extent it is the work of our colleges and universities that carry forward, here and in the world, those great ideas and purposes — our commitment to freedom and justice — and those achievements of art and imagination that have transformed the world quite as much as economic and political forces.

How must America's emerging world universities respond? I think there are at least five features of the response, and each represents an enormous challenge.

First, for America's great world universities to lead the world in higher education, they must be able to attract the most distinguished scholars and the most promising students from the world over to their undergraduate programs, as well as to their post-graduate and professional programs. But our universities are not able to meet this challenge. We are inundated at Yale, like other leading universities and colleges, with brilliantly promising scholars and students to whom we cannot open our doors because we do not have the financial resources to maintain their academic presence in New Haven.

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Second, the great world universities must have the capacity to send their faculty and students to study, to teach, to pursue research throughout the world, and to live in other cultures for extended periods of time. This is a matter of considerable urgency if America is to assist in the intellectual reconstruction of universities around the world, which have been so destablized. Yet here again, the many scholars and students at Yale who might wish to work in other countries, and who could contribute so much, lack the financial resources to participate in these great changes.

A third point concerns academic organization. The great world universities will come more and more to treat international studies as a distinct discipline and, in all of the arts and humanities and learned professions, to regard the world as the appropriate reference for their research, teaching, and ultimately their professional activities. International studies will be approached from broad interdisciplinary perspectives. They will rest on a sophisticated understanding of the languages, arts, cultures, histories, and contemporary circumstances of other societies in the world, and they will rest on distinctive interdisciplinary subjects such as international economics, human rights, international law, international public health problems, and environmental issues.

Fourth, the great world universities will have to place a higher priority on maintaining and enhancing library collections, art collections, and natural history and anthropological collections that draw on all significant regions of the world and all the world's major cultures.

And, fifth, the great world universities will be distinguished by their close, extensive, personal links and institutional ties to students and faculty, alumni and educators from all of the world's leading universities and research institutions.

Leading universities are struggling to respond to these five fundamental challenges, even as we are riding the exponential curve of the advancement of knowledge in the sciences and the humanities; even as we are struggling to rebuild the physical foundations of our institutions; and even as we are trying to maintain the twin promises of accessibility and educational excellence. These imposing financial strains on America's universities are more daunting than any they have seen in many decades.

But financial constraints and budgetary deficits cannot justify a deficit in our intellectual vision or in our academic leadership in response to these changes in the world. And yet, as I think of Yale's contribution in the five areas that I have named, I think it is fair to say that we are hampered by the absence of resources.

Nevertheless, we are strengthening ourselves with respect to each of these five major characteristics. Today there are now more than 2,000 non-U.S. citizens on our campus. They come from more than 80 countries. They represent the single greatest change in the nature of the Yale community over the past generation.

To encourage the flow of undergraduates and graduate and post-graduate students we are seeking to establish ties with universities in other countries. To take two recent examples, we have established interesting exchange programs with Moscow State University and with the Chinese University of Hong Kong.

The financial support for law, business and medical schools is so far outrunning support for the humanities and the arts that our universities are generally being pulled apart.

Over the years Yale has graduated many great leaders of America's international activities: Henry Stimson, Averill Harriman, Dean Acheson, Cyrus Vance, and our current President of the United States. Yale has also played an important role in educating many of the international leaders of other countries. In addition, many of America's most internationally-oriented businesses are led by our graduates. We would be seriously remiss if we did not seek to create for future leaders educational opportunities to understand the changing world in which we live.

Vital philanthropic support for these international activities has come from a number of American foundations that are at the cutting edge in supporting critically important new international perspectives and developments. The Henry Luce Foundation, the Mellon Foundation, the Ford Foundation, the MacArthur Foundation, the Olin Foundation, and The Rockefeller Foundation are among those supporting creative and excellent international programs. We need to persuade individual donors, including our graduates, that international studies, particularly in the arts and and the humanities, are worthy of their support.

Even as molecular biology, biotechnology and international economics continue to flourish at Yale, I worry about the areas that are the subject of this conference. All of us who serve in the great universities in this country must commit ourselves to making our institutions worthy of the name of world universities, with international perspectives and creativity in the arts and the humanities as the cutting edge of our activities in the next century.

JAMES D. WOLFENSOHN
Chairman of The John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts

Arts education is not an optional extra. It is not something that takes priority after we solve the drug problems, the problems of our cities, or problems of the economy.

I will take a leaf out of Maya Angelou's book and start with a little story. By my accent you may tell that I am Australian. When I came to this country to study at the graduate school at Harvard a friendly face greeted me on my first evening, and he asked me to join him for dinner with his sister.

So I went into the eating hall and sat down with this attractive young lady and this new classmate of mine. And I too was offered food and drink. And the sister said to me, "Where do you come from?" And I said "Sydney, Australia." And she asked, "And when did you get here?" And I said, "Yesterday." And she said, "My, you have learned the language so quickly!"

Thinking about the subject of this meeting — international cultural opportunities and the private sector — I would like, as a foreigner, to make the observation that the private sector in this country plays a role that is unique in the world, and we should not forget it.

If we are seeking to show the disbanded Soviet Union the merits of democracy and — in the very creative idea of Jim Billington this morning — to bring more than 50,000 Russians to this country, we should recognize that the charitable nature of our private sector is unique. The private sector gives to nonprofit organizations over $100 billion annually, a small percentage of which goes to the arts and the humanities.

Before we address the question of internationalism, we must address the issue of the American cultural institution and its future, because we must have a stable base at home. Here, the private sector has an important role to play. Throughout this land, in both large and small cities, and particularly in the performing arts institutions, we have a tremendous strength in terms of individuals who are fighting the battle of keeping these institutions alive. If these individual efforts could be better organized, their cumulative force could perhaps be the most powerful cultural force in the world.

It would be powerful because it would not be vested in a cabinet office or a cultural minister, as it is in France. It would be vested in us. We need to recognize that we have a challenge to which we must respond in these coming years.

The challenge is internationalism and the need to include a more pluralistic element in what we are doing. However, beyond this international challenge, we must grapple with the issue of how to pass along to the next generation a truly American cultural program, be it in the visual or the performing arts.

First, we have to save and preserve culture, and provide the opportunity for people to create and develop artistically. That is a challenge that many in this room face in cultural institutions every day. And once we have preserved it, we have to pass our culture on, because the key to our future is not just saving our current institutions, it is developing and educating future audiences.

We are beyond the age of European, Asian, and other immigrations that brought educated audiences to the United States. In the 1940's, 1950's, and 1960's we had a rich cultural inflow of people from other parts of the world who were educated to appreciate culture. Now we have to pass on that message to our children.

I slipped away at lunch because I wanted to hear a program of our National Symphony Orchestra at the Kennedy Center. As I walked in, I heard our conductor doing a program for young children, principally minority kids. He was playing a melody by Mozart but explaining, in rap, that Mozart was a great dude, that he was born in Salzburg, and that he died and no one knows where he is buried. Then came a little snippet from Mozart's *Requiem*.

We have to find creative ways to reach children. Most importantly, we need to reach their teachers, because often that part of the conduit is not there.

When I came to the Kennedy Center I thought my challenge was money and programming, and it is both of those things. But we are also ready to place performing arts educations as our central priority. For example, there is no place in this country — not in the Department of Education nor the National Endowment for the Arts — where one can find information about existing programs on education in the performing arts.

We must meet this challenge. If we don't, we are going to lose the battle. We have to help the Department of Education and the rest of the government by bringing in the private sector to get behind this effort in an organized way.

This is not a challenge that can be put off. It is not something that takes priority after we solve the drug problems, the problems of our cities, or problems of the economy. These problems will never be solved by cutting arts teachers in schools in order to balance the budget.

Arts education is not an optional extra. It is at the very core of what this country stands for. We in the private sector must give our children the chance that we had to create and to dream, regardless of position in the social and financial structure.

QUESTION: *Mr. Schmidt, why do you think it is that your alumni are not supporting arts and humanities programs at the university?*

MR. SCHMIDT: Well I don't want to over-state the problem, because we are getting lots of support and a number of our leading foundations are showing great vision in this respect. But individuals often associate their giving with what they remember about the place. And the Yale in which I was a student in the 1960's, for example, was a Yale in which a foreign student or faculty member was something of an oddity, with the exception, of course, of the great wave of refugees from fascism who did so much to make American universities truly great in the 1950's and 1960's.

But I sense that in relation to the opportunities in the world today, our resources fall far short. To take one example, the most promising scholars in the Soviet Union are not able to find places in our universities. We must develop the financial resources to deal with those five issues that I described. At present we are falling short.

QUESTION: *Mr. Luers, throughout our country municipal governments are showing the same sort of apathy that you have been so deeply concerned about. I am wondering, given your work at the Metropolitan and your indication that perhaps the mayor of New York has come forward in a more constructive way, if you could share with us how you helped him reach that conclusion?*

MR. LUERS: I misspoke with regard to the extent to which David Dinkins has been converted to culture and the arts. Last year he cut the Metropolitan Museum by $4 million in the city budget. We have had to close galleries. Some institutions are teetering on the brink in a city which, uniquely in the United States, was one that generally gave a high priority to the arts.

I think the pressure has come from a recognition of the economic impact of the arts, the fact that they are a big business and without them New York is in real trouble. I think the quality of life argument, the community development argument, and the educational argument have not been nearly as persuasive as the economic argument.

Jim Wolfensohn is absolutely right that the one group of institutions in this country that has placed the arts in a priority position, very often for utilitarian reasons, has been the private sector. My point is that local, state, and federal governments just don't discuss the issue.

QUESTION: *Mr. Schmidt, how can the institutions represented on this panel maintain the same kind of support for the humanities, which often don't have the kind of performance appeal that some of the arts do, and yet are equally important in both the preservation and the development of our culture?*

MR. SCHMIDT: I think the question touches on one of the most critical issues for the future of colleges and universities. I believe that you can't deal with that problem unless you have a philosophy. And colleges and universities have got to anchor themselves in the tradition of liberal education. That tradition is not a utilitarian tradition. It is a tradition that sees knowledge as a good in itself. It sees the purpose of education as dealing in issues of beauty, justice and the good life in the fullest sense, and not in utilitarian, cost-optimizing terms.

I believe that the liberal arts tradition is the most useful educational tradition, but our universities and many colleges are being split by wide variation in financial support for different areas of their work. No one thinks that the life sciences or biomedical research is more important than I do, but the financial support for law, business and medical schools is so far outrunning support for the humanities and the arts that our universities are generally being pulled apart.

The leaders of universities must do everything they can to counteract that by putting forward a basic educational philosophy that will put the humanities and the arts at the core of the liberal tradition.

MR. FROHNMAYER: Amen to that. I can't imagine a more distinguished panel. We are all very much in your debt. Thank you.

EDUCATION: PREPARATION FOR THE CHALLENGES OF THE NEW WORLD ORDER

DAVID T. KEARNS
Deputy Secretary of the United States Department of Education

Foreign language learning is extraordinarily important. Compared to the pan-European baccalaureate degree proposal that forms part of the 1992 economic union, we are far behind. Our nation plays a major role in an international economy, and it is extremely important that we include foreign language education in our school systems.

Let me start by explaining how I became involved in education. I was responsibile for international business at Xerox during the middle 1970's and was fortunate enough to be president of Xerox as we came out of the 1970's and into the 1980's. I spent a great deal of time traveling to Japan, because we had a large joint venture over there.

I was also on the productivity commission that William Simon ran for President Reagan in the early 1980's. The more involved I became with trying to figure out how Xerox could compete and trying to encourage productivity in the nation, the more education became an important factor.

I couldn't talk Lamar Alexander out of appointing me to the Department of Education, so here I am. And I am learning a great deal, including an observation about Washington: this is a city about winning and losing, not about getting things done. And that is a serious observation.

It is interesting when you go outside the Beltway and around the country to talk to governors, chief state school officers, and community leaders. They are truly interested in doing something about education in this nation.

I learned much over the last 10 years at Xerox. First, it is critical to have clear goals, and these goals must be communicated to and understood by a broad range of people.

Second, goals are great, but you must also have a strategy to achieve those goals and that strategy must include a process for change. Most people do not understand what this means, because, although people like to talk about change, they are almost always talking about the person next to them and not about themselves. Change is very uncomfortable, and we are going to have to go through a lot of it.

A last lesson has to do with expectation levels. I will tell you a short story about this. A few years ago I was traveling to Japan when I read an article in *Forbes* magazine about General Motors Corporation and a $3.5 billion investment they were making in retooling their plants to reduce costs and improve the quality of their product.

At the end of that article the very cynical writer concluded that General Motors would not realize the anticipated benefits from their investment. On that trip to Tokyo I visited Toyota as part of my attempt to find where the best business practices in the world were. The article had only been out for ten days, and yet it was pinned up all over the walls at Toyota. It was in the engineering laboratories, the strategic planning areas, and the executive offices.

They were beginning to change every quality measure, every reliability check, and every cost target because they assumed that General Motors would do exactly what they said they were going to do, and that they would do it on

schedule. If Toyota was going to continue to compete, why, of course, they had to do better.

I got on the airplane at the end of that trip and wrote, "Why are the business leaders in Japan taking us, American business leaders, to the cleaners?" Then I wrote down "monolithic society" and "planned economy" and a lot of those other rationalizations that we use for our own failures. But I finally wrote down and circled two words: expectation levels.

I was convinced that the reason we were losing was that Japanese business leaders had much higher expectation levels for success than we did. I got off the airplane absolutely dedicated to changing our attitude at Xerox about the targets and goals that we should set from the early 1980's to the end of the 1990's.

I am convinced that this lowering of expectations is a major problem in the United States today, not just in the education field, but in general. Over the last 25 years in this country we have moderated our goals and expectations for almost every thing we are doing.

The national education goals, interestingly enough, have been attacked by a lot of folks on the basis that they are goals we cannot achieve. But we can achieve those goals, and we must set high expectation levels. At a minimum, we should be on a trajectory to achieve those goals by the end of this decade.

The six education goals are critical. America 2000 is a broad-based strategy. It is not only a standards and assessments strategy. It is not only a choice strategy. It is not only a new schools strategy. It is a broad-based strategy to achieve all six of those national education goals.

I believe there is an opportunity to invent a completely new learning environment in the next decade. We do not need to copy the Japanese or the northern Europeans; we can create something that is uniquely American. But we should learn from other systems of education.

The first goal is for better and more accountable schools. There are critical aspects to this part of the strategy, and standards and assessments are one of them. We need high international standards. That means we need to find out where the best educational practices in the world are and what the international standards are.

One reason the American public has not yet bought into this issue is the "Lake Woebegone" syndrome: the belief that our children are "a little above average." It is not startling that when you visit different communities, people agree that there is an educational problem in the country, but they rate their own schools highly and do not recognize problems in their own school system. Until we set high international standards and have tough assessments of our schools and our students, there is no chance to move ahead.

I urge everyone to look at the school budget in his or her community and at the agenda of the school board. You will see two things. A large percentage of the budget — in some cities it is more than half — is not spent in the schools where students and teachers are. Second, you will find few school boards in the United States that are looking at strategic, systematic change. Many school boards meet one hundred times a year and are basically focused on the day-to-day operation of the school — buying school buses, determining whether there will be a junior varsity hockey team, et cetera.

There is a debate going on about choice. I believe that choice is a fundamental underpinning to introducing competition into the school system and to giving the poorest people in this country the same opportunity to choose good schools that the wealthier people have. The result will be better and more accountable schools.

Education is the largest industry in the United States, between $400 and $450 billion in size. Yet it has remained virtually untouched by technology. I believe there is an opportunity to invent a completely new learning environment in the next decade. We do not need to copy the Japanese or the northern Europeans, we can create something that is uniquely American. But we should learn from other systems of education. We have an opportunity to create a school system that will make us competitive with the best systems anywhere in the world. But it's a huge challenge.

Children and young adults are not our only focus. Looking at the present and future work force from a businessman's perspective, we should be spending much

of our resources on people who are already at work. Eighty percent of the current work force in the United States will still be working in the year 2000. We have an enormous challenge in this country to raise the educational level of all our citizens.

We must have communities where learning can take place. The President borrowed the phrase "the ninety one percent factor" from Chester Finn, an education writer, in the America 2000 strategy. This refers to the time students spend out of school. Currently, if a youngster starts school at age five, finishing high school at age 18, he will have spent only nine percent of his time in school. So we can't look to the schools to solve every single social issue; we must also take a look at the communities in their entirety. We need the help of the community.

Our strategy is simple. Communities adopt the six national education goals and then communicate them to the local constituencies, build a community plan for meeting all the goals, and then develop a report card for the community to show, on a regular basis, how it is moving towards those goals. Lastly, they will plan and support a new American school for the next decade.

With this strategy in mind, I would like to say a word about the arts and the humanities. Goal three of the six national educational goals states that all students must demonstrate competency in challenging subject matter including English, mathematics, science, history, and geography. As the governors put the list together there was a great debate about how far this list should go. Do you include the arts, foreign languages, physical education and citizenship?

As a result of this debate, we have been encouraging America 2000 communities to go beyond the six national educational goals. Rather than debating the goals, many communities are now adding goals of their own, which include the arts and the humanities. I was in Memphis the other day where they are very aggressive about education reform. They have eight goals tailored to the community, and one of these includes the arts and humanities.

As a result of input from the arts community we made a change that many of you thought was modest. But we have been taking it seriously and including language about the arts in the New American Schools request for proposals, stressing that the five core subjects are important but that a true liberal arts program contains substantially more, including the arts.

It is important that high schools offer and develop a broad liberal arts education. And, as a businessman, I would say that if the schools will educate, business can do the training.

Foreign language learning is extraordinarily important. Compared to the pan-European baccalaureate degree proposal that forms part of the 1992 economic union, we are far behind. The Europeans are looking to each country for the highest standards in key areas. Requirements call for mastery of three languages: one's native language, English, and one other. Our nation plays a major role in an international economy, and it is extremely important that we include foreign language education in our school systems.

As a result of input from the arts community we have included language about the arts in the New American Schools request for proposals, stressing that the five core subjects are important but that a true liberal arts program contains substantially more, including the arts.

There are two areas in particular that would benefit from collaboration between countries. One is international standards. The second is collaboration with business. Most countries have much to share with us. Something that has been encouraging to me in learning about the best business processes within a corporate structure is the willingness of companies around the world, including competitors, to exchange information. I believe that we have an opportunity to exchange ideas on an international basis in education as well.

A recent *Newsweek* magazine article singled out excellent schools in different areas from around the world. Three of the schools in the United States were arts schools. They also selected graduate schools in the United States. We can learn from other countries just as they can learn from us. It is crucial that we exchange ideas about the best educational systems and learning environments for the next century.

I would like to end by mentioning two serious concerns. I am concerned about some of the rhetoric I've heard in the United States since the collapse of the governments in Eastern Europe and Russia. It sounds like the 1930's and 1940's, and it is frightening. There is no

way that we can turn back the clock. There is no way that the United States can succeed as a country if the rest of the industrial world does not succeed.

Second, in this country we are witnessing a very interesting phenomenon. The decade of the 1980's was a decade to talk about the problems in education. We accomplished almost nothing, and yet we increased spending in education by close to forty percent beyond inflation.

Even today some institutions are developing data that says we are okay. A study I read recently said that except for thirty-five percent of our students we are doing okay. Can you imagine saying that we are okay except for thirty-five percent of the population! That would be like buying a case of Pepsi and saying that it's okay if only sixty-five percent of the cans taste right.

We saw exactly the same attitude in 1979 at Xerox when the engineers convinced me that if the currencies were all equal, and if we had designed our product just like the Japanese did and so forth, in fact the manufacturing costs were really the same. The data showed that we were achieving a seven percent productivity improvement beyond inflation, and I felt good about that. But when it became apparent that we had to make 17 percent productivity improvements per year beyond inflation to catch up with the Japanese, it changed my perspective.

I would challenge anybody who doesn't think we have a problem in education to read the math curriculum from the fifth grade through high school in Japan. You will then see that we are in big trouble. Ninety-five percent of all Japanese students are graduating from high school, which is equal to a four-year college degree in the United States.

There is no way that the United States can succeed as a country if the rest of the industrial world does not succeed.

Under these circumstances, we cannot compete as a nation. We have always done quite well in the United States at educating the top half of our students, but now we are not even as competitive as we need to be for the top half.

If we expect to compete as a nation, we must educate ninety to ninety-five percent of our citizens to a high level. I believe we can do it.

JAMES H. EVANS
Chairman of the International Advisory Group

In summary, I'd like to say that it has been an exhilarating day. Everyone will agree that we have heard a remarkable series of discussions describing opportunities for private funders to take part in shaping history.

International cultural programs and educational exchanges at all levels have demonstrated their effectiveness in developing mutual understanding and forging alliances with future leaders. And, too, we have heard thoughtful suggestions for ways to improve current programs.

We heard, for instance, a number of speakers emphasize the importance in the United States of educational reforms such as Mr. Kearns just outlined. Our international competitiveness depends on it.

In a high technology economy we need managers and leaders who can respond quickly to change. The arts and the humanities are critical elements of a liberal education, and this was stressed many times today as the backbone of a good education system for the future.

Specifically, as Henry Kaufman, Tom Kean and David Kearns mentioned, mastering foreign languages and understanding other cultures will be an increasingly essential tool of business, as well as a means to enjoy a better life.

If we are going to increase our exports abroad, we have got to have businessmen who understand the markets and customs of the countries in which they will operate. Everyone agrees the U.S. economy is going to be increasingly tied to the international marketplace and to the necessity of exports.

But competitiveness is only one reason for us to support international cultural programs. This morning Jim Billington reminded us that international cultural exchanges serve important public purposes and bolster the long range goals of this country. As Maya Angelou told us quite poignantly, scholarly and artistic exchanges help to create friends for the United States abroad.

Don Kendall spoke to us about the arts and his company. The arts provide our citizens with firsthand knowledge of other cultures and contribute to the free flow of ideas.

We need to support American artists and scholars if we are going to project American culture overseas comprehensively . . . the members of our international advisory group have recommended the creation of a new organization, an international cultural council to encourage substantial new contributions to international programs in the arts and the humanities from the foundation and corporate communities and from individual philanthropists.

Another point we have stressed is that the kinds of international exchanges supported by the Fulbright Programs, the USIA, and the Institute of International Education are essential to the vitality of international education in our schools and in our colleges and universities. If we are serious about the need to prepare students for an international economy and a new world order in which the United States is going to be called upon to offer creative leadership, then we need more, not less, involvement by all sectors, although our particular charge today is to private foundations, corporations, and individual donors. Benno Schmidt's remarks about the development of world class universities focused our attention on the importance of adequate resources to carry out the mandate.

If I may dwell a moment on the corporate side, I think we have also seen that international sponsorship in the arts and in scholarship can be good for business, emphasizing again the point that Don Kendall and Jim Wolfensohn talked about today.

There seems to be a general agreement that the U.S. could support the arts more aggressively in our public diplomacy through the USIA and through private sponsorships. Henry Catto told us of the excellent work of the USIA. We learned from Sir Richard Francis about the examples of the British Council.

Bill Luers and Jim Wolfensohn each made a point about the importance of arts education being part of our educational reform, and all our speakers agree

that the arts are invaluable bridges to understanding other cultures at their very deepest level. If we are serious about understanding the international scene, arts education is an essential component of any true liberal education.

In short, we need the arts and the humanities in order to understand other peoples. And we need to support American artists and scholars if we are going to project American culture overseas comprehensively, not just through television sitcoms.

I think everyone agrees that our public agencies are doing a remarkable job given the budgetary constraints they have to deal with. We can thank our stellar moderators, Lynne Cheney and John Frohnmayer, for their hard work at the Arts and Humanities Endowments.

But we must remember that all our speakers told us that our efforts still fall short of reaching their full potential. George Soros and Luis Monreal have reminded us that there are today tremendous opportunities for American influence abroad and for developing more extensive contacts and more substantial programs in international cultural exchange.

Now with these admonitions ringing in our ears, it seems to me that the private sector has an important role to play in helping the United States seize this historic opportunity.

For many months the President's Committee and the Institute of International Education have been working together to develop a joint international program. As part of this effort we have tried to organize a public meeting that would do justice to the complexity of international cultural programs in both the arts and the humanities.

We are a country in which the private sector has often played the role of catalyst and stimulus for new programs and new ideas. Those of you from the foundation community have been especially good at launching programs and then helping to find sufficient resources to sustain them. We will need more of this creativity in the months and years ahead.

Consequently, the members of our international advisory group have recommended the creation of a new organization, an international cultural council. The purpose of the council would be to encourage substantial new contributions to international programs in the arts and the humanities from the foundation and corporate communities and from individual philanthropists. These contributions would not be intended for use by the council itself, which would operate solely as an advisory organization and with a modest budget, but they would be directed to existing organizations in order to increase the number and quality of international cultural programs.

One of our purposes in inviting you to meet with us today was to assess the need for further private support and to solicit your interest, your guidance and your assistance. We hope to enlist many of you in this important effort.

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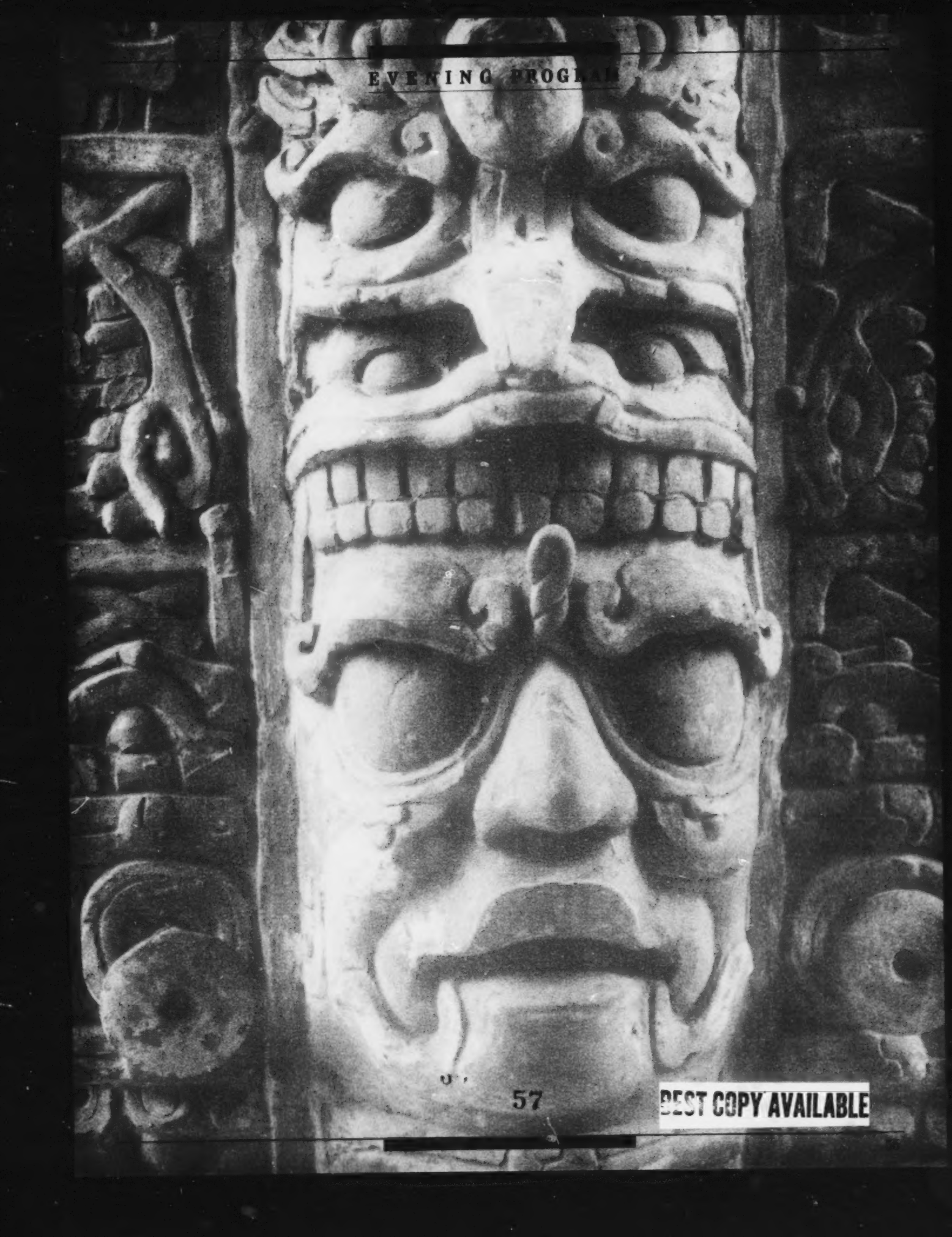
Page 55: Precolumbian flanged cylinder (c. 690) featured in the exhibit "Mexico: Splendors of Thirty Centuries." Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.



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JAMES A. BAKER III
The Secretary of State

It is my pleasure to welcome you to these magnificent reception rooms and to introduce a very special guest. Historians have long debated whether great events are shaped by impersonal forces or great leaders. For those who doubt the impact of leadership, I would suggest they go to Mexico.

President Salinas took office in a country beset by a decade-long economic crisis. Today he presides over a country with a growing economy attracting investment from around the globe. His fundamental economic and political changes offer the proud people of Mexico opportunities for a better life for many decades to come. Truly, Mexico has risen from a decade of despair to a new era of hope.

There is also a special relationship between President Bush and President Salinas. The trust, respect, cooperation, and, I believe, genuine affection, between these two leaders have transformed Mexican-American relations. Indeed I am proud to say, and I pay tribute as well to my colleague, Foreign Secretary Fernando Solana, that relations between the United States and Mexico have never been better. I am also proud to say that during my service as Secretary of the Treasury some years ago, I had many occasions to work closely with President Salinas, who was then Mexico's Secretary of Programming and Budget. These experiences filled me with the greatest respect and admiration for the President. He leads with a sure hand, based on a profound understanding of Mexico, Mexican-American relations, and the challenges we face in this final decade of the 20th century.

Tonight, however, we are not only honoring President Salinas as a leader but also as an artist. By that I mean he is redrawing the portrait of his people, brightening the colors, highlighting the action and otherwise updating the canvas. And if you look, you'll see how well he has wielded his brush. The Mexicans in the portrait today are a prouder and happier people because of his efforts. Democratic values, economic growth and environmental security are just a few of the colors on his palette now being applied.

And so ladies and gentlemen, it is my great honor to present to this distinguished audience one of the premier political artists of our times — Carlos Salinas de Gortari, President of Mexico.

THE PRESIDENT OF MEXICO CARLOS SALINAS DE GORTARI

In Mexico, our three thousand year old culture has taught us that there are many ways, not just one, of being and shaping free, creative men and women.

It is a great pleasure to have been invited by the President's Committee on the Arts and the Humanities and the Institute of International Education to be here with you tonight. We are nearing the close of a century and a millennium, and we know that the moment in which we are living is a decisive one for our countries and for the world. This is perhaps why the faces of our children in both nations reflect the hope that our generation will have the determination, the enthusiasm and the vision to offer them a more promising future. We have before us a rare historical opportunity, and with respect, friendship and cooperation, we can make that future a reality.

Faced with a changing world in which systems of production, coexistence and trade are undergoing sweeping transformation, we cannot afford to succumb to isolationist tendencies, to see no farther than ourselves. These are times to reaffirm our values, but to do so by looking outward and toward the future. There is no doubt that the changes under way offer this century's best hope for building a world in which harmony, the rule of law, and greater justice will prevail. Nonetheless, those changes also give rise to uncertainty and open the door to age-old sources of tension.

As walls have crumbled, they have brought to light the persistence of mental barriers that harbor intolerance and discrimination against those who do not share the same cultural background. The spirit of integration is being dampened by the resurgence of separatist trends. Faced with a multicultural reality, some voices call out for uniformity, while others seek to reject encounters with the exterior out of a false feeling of security.

In Mexico, our three thousand year old culture has taught us that there are many ways, not just one, of being and shaping free, creative men and women. Universal values are nourished precisely by the existence of different cultures. The diversity of their manifestations enriches all peoples and is a sign of human freedom. To attempt to stand

aloof from the currents of change, besides being futile, is a grave risk to a nation's very existence. To aspire to a single, uniform cultural pattern for the world goes counter to the idea of true civilization. The events of this century confirm human diversity and plurality, the adaptability of institutions, the interdependence of nations and the extraordinary force of the desire for freedom.

My country is engaged in far-reaching changes in order to adapt to the pace of the times.

We Mexicans view change as a sign of today's world and are changing of our own volition. We must do so in order to meet the enormous challenges we face in the social and economic spheres and the demands of 83 million Mexicans who aspire to live in a more prosperous and more just society. To address this challenge, we Mexicans have followed a strategy for change designed to modernize our economy, renovate our political practices, concentrate social efforts on combatting poverty and diversify our relations with other countries so as to combine our efforts toward a single goal. We want to assure our country's competitiveness and continued viability in the coming century, with greater justice and freedom for future generations. In changing structures, we are also altering mentalities and habits, while preserving our values and traditions. Thus, the value of our culture is a mainstay in facing the future, because it provides us with the security and confidence to open up to the world while continuing to be Mexicans.

The final shape of the major world changes under way remains uncertain. New international economic zones are taking sh pe in Europe and the Pacific Rim with extraordinary vitality in resources, trade and technology and with access to large markets that raise their potential and pose a competitive challenge of enormous scope for Mexico, the United States and Canada. The pressures generated by the changes occurring on all continents and in financial markets is making the struggle for resources one of the hallmarks of the nineties decade.

The best means for our countries to compete with the new trade blocs lies in commercial union. Geography made us neighbors and today the economic advantages to be derived make it advisable to join in forming an economic free-trade zone made up of 360 million inhabitants who produce goods and services amounting to approximately $6 trillion. By doing so we will be in a position to meet the trade challenge posed by the united Europe of 1992, and by Japan and the countries of the Asian Pacific. These are negotiations from which we all stand to gain. Together, our three countries can generate jobs, preserve the environment and compete more effectively in the world. Consequently, we do not view this free-trade zone as a closed bloc, but as a region open to competition, with sufficient economic thrust to allow us to develop the competitive edge that is essential in today's world.

We want trade, not economic aid — freer trade aimed precisely at creating jobs and raising wage levels by increasing productivity. We want jobs and higher wages to be permanent, and freer trade will give us the means to achieve that end. We want to export goods, not people. We also want a clean economic recovery. I do not want children in Mexico City to paint the sky gray in their drawings and to leave the stars out because they cannot see them at night, nor will we allow polluting industries that are not allowed to operate here to move to our country.

To achieve all this, it is essential to review and evaluate the manner in which we are educating our citizens. To modernize the country, we must modernize education. The same thing is happening in the United States and practically all over the world. We want to raise the quality not only of the content of education, but also the way in which it relates to the values of civilization.

In Mexico, to achieve that goal, all those involved in education have been called upon to participate: teachers, families, experts and communities. Respect for the dignity of individuals, family integrity, the general interest and international solidarity must guide us — as prescribed by Mexico's Constitution — in providing a solid education in the

In Mexico, modernizing our education system, promoting cultural creativity, and protecting the country's art are national priorities.

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three basic fields of knowledge: language, mathematics and history. We must not forget that scientific and technological backwardness undermines the productive strength of a nation, while the failure to give proper attention to the basic questions of mankind, its values and its past, saps man's identity. In Mexico, modernizing our education system, promoting cultural creativity, and protecting the country's art are therefore national priorities.

We are talking about a strategic view of change; there is no question that the fundamental basis of that change is education. The most important investment states can make, therefore, is in this area, because authentic, comprehensive development depends on the people's capability and not only on natural resources. Education and technology are the challenges of our times. Consequently, the basic mission of nations must be to create an efficient public-education infrastructure that distributes vital opportunities equally; to bring teaching methods and curricula ever closer to excellence; and to preserve, through the education system, our national culture, identity and values. The level of development, justice and well-being offered to this and future generations will depend, in large measure, on our success in attaining that objective. It is a pressing, strategic national task that must be given priority.

Society also educates by example and by the institutions it creates. The Mexicans are a people who love their freedom and their millennia-old culture. They have made great efforts to resume their growth, to gain opportunities for themselves in the world, and to combat the serious problems of pollution and drug trafficking. But in this fight we demand respect for our freedoms. The defense of our rights has been our object in Mexico, and today it is our priority. We will not allow our economic achievements to shine in statistics if we must subtract from those achievements the toll they cost us in the quality of life, freedom, harmony and identity.

Ladies and Gentlemen, as neighbors, the United States and Mexico today have a valuable opportunity to act together in facing the challenges imposed by the dynamics of modern-day economics. But beyond that, a close and cordial relationship between our countries enables us to acknowledge and promote the encounter of our different cultures. The academic exchange recently signed and put into effect by the United States and Mexico is therefore of paramount importance.

Those of us who received the benefits of student-exchange programs have learned the value of gaining knowledge about other ways of living and thinking. That is why we encourage exchange in general and welcome the proposal for the establishment of an International Cultural Council that will be a bastion of the cultures, arts and humanities of all peoples.

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Today's generations of Mexicans are proud of their history and their identity. In Mexico, our culture is rooted in ancient times: it has been a crucible for the fusion of indigenous and Spanish elements that has formed our own particular identity and made us a free and sovereign nation. Mexico is proud of her culture. We preserve that culture today, open to dialogue and interchange with the world. The dissemination of Mexican art also contributes to the spread of a universal message. We have called the exhibition that traveled throughout the United States, "Splendors of Thirty Centuries"; it was the fruit of government and private participation. Our hope was that it would help to make us better known, and it did. The same would be true of an exhibition of the art of this great nation in Mexico. By such means, we rid ourselves of fears and prejudices, and learn — without forgetting the past — to look toward the future.

The advance of science and technological innovation offers hitherto unknown benefits for mankind, but those benefits will not be able to replace man's values, his judgment, or his image. Only a person shaped by our marvelous universal culture, with his roots in his own national or regional heritage, will be able to discern tomorrow that which is beautiful, good and just. These values will continue to exalt the human spirit. It is in aspiring to attain them that twenty-first century man will grow and develop.

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Page 61: Photo by Alan Nomura. Courtesy of the Institute of International Education.

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MAYA ANGELOU is a writer, educator, civil rights activist, actress, producer and director. She is the author of ten bestsellers including *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings; Just Give Me a Cool Drink of Water 'Fore I Die; Gather Together in My Name; Oh Pray My Wings are Gonna Fit Me Well; Singin' and Swingin' and Gettin' Merry Like Christmas; And Still I Rise; The Heart of A Woman; Shaker, Why Don't You Sing?; All God's Children Need Traveling Shoes; Now Sheba Sings the Song;* and her most recent book of poetry, *I Shall Not Be Moved*. In the 1960s, at the request of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Ms. Angelou was the Northern Coordinator for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. She was also appointed by President Gerald Ford to the Bicentennial Commission, and by President Jimmy Carter to the National Commission on the Observence of International Women's Year.

JAMES A. BILLINGTON, Librarian of Congress since 1987, is a member of the President's Committee on the Arts and the Humanities. An author and historian, as well as educator and administrator, Dr. Billington came to the Library from the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. Previously, he was professor of history at Princeton University. He is the author of a number of books and articles on Russian and Soviet history, American foreign policy, and modern intellectual history. Dr. Billington serves on the Board of Trustees of the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts, the National Building Museum, the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars and the American Folklife Center as well as the Board of Regents of the National Library of Medicine. He has been Chairman of the J. William Fulbright Board of Foreign Scholarships and is a member of the editorial advisory board of *Foreign Affairs.*

HENRY E. CATTO was confirmed as the twelfth Director of the United States Information Agency on May 8, 1991. Prior to his confirmation, he served as Ambassador of the United States to Great Britain and Northern Ireland. A native of Texas, Ambassador Catto has been a partner in his family's insurance business since 1959. He has served in the administration of four U. S. presidents, as Deputy U. S. Representative to the Organization of American States and U. S. Ambassador to El Salvador under President Nixon, Chief of Protocol and U. S. Representative to the European Office of the United Nations under President Ford, and Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs for Secretary of Defense Casper Weinberger under President Reagan. Ambassador Catto is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and has served as a trustee of the Aspen Institute. He is a member of the President's Committee on the Arts and the Humanities.

LYNNE V. CHENEY, Chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities since 1986, has written five studies on the state of the humanities and of education in the United States: *Humanities in America, American Memory, Fifty Hours: A Core Curriculum for College Students, Tyrannical Machines: A Report on Educational Practices Gone Wrong and Our Best Hopes for Setting Them Right*, and *National Tests: What Other Countries Expect their Students to Learn*. Before coming to the Endowment, she was a college and university teacher, magazine editor and widely published author. In April 1985 she was named by President Reagan to the Commission on the Bicentennial of the United States Constitution. Dr. Cheney is a member of the President's Committee on the Arts and the Humanities.

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JAMES H. EVANS, Chairman of the Advisory Group of the International Cultural Program, jointly sponsored by the President's Committee on the Arts and the Humanities and the Institute of International Education, was Chairman of the Board of Union Pacific Corporation from 1977 to 1985, having served as President from 1969 to 1977. He is a member of the Directors Advisory Council for General Motors Corporation, and for Metropolitan Life Insurance Company and is a director of Strategic Investment & Finance Corporation and First City Bancorporation of Texas. He is on the board of the New York Hospital, the University of Chicago, Centre College, Manhattan Institute for Policy Research, and the Institute of International Education, and is Vice Chairman of The John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts and of the Central Park Conservancy.

SIR RICHARD FRANCIS is the Director-General of The British Council. During his tenure, he has introduced a policy of expansion through extending and diversifying sources of funding and has seen the Council's network expand from 82 to 90 countries. Prior to coming to the British Council, Sir Richard spent twenty-eight years with the BBC, and was Managing Director of BBC Radio. He is a member of the Media Law Group, UK-Japan 2000 Group, and the Franco-British Council; a Fellow of the Royal Society of Arts, member of the Councils of the Royal College of Art; Honorary President of the Radio Academy; Vice President of the Royal Institute of Public Administration; and a Governor of Westminster College, Oxford.

JOHN E. FROHNMAYER, Chairman of the National Endowment for the Arts since 1989, Mr. Frohnmayer was formerly a partner with the law firm of Tonkon, Torp, Galin, Marmaduke & Booth of Portland, Oregon. An

accomplished singer, he served as the Chairman of the Oregon Arts Commission, a member of the National Endowment for the Arts' Opera-Musical Theater Panel, and a director of the International Sculpture Symposium in Eugene, Oregon. He served on the board of Chamber Music Northwest and was a founding member of Novum Cantorum.

DONALD J. HALL was appointed as Chairman of the President's Committee on the Arts and the Humanities by President Bush in September 1990. He is Chairman of the Board of Hallmark Cards, Inc., a private company founded by his father. He serves on the Board of Directors of Dayton Hudson Corporation and United Telecommunications. A native of Kansas City, Missouri, Mr. Hall is a trustee of the Nelson Atkins Museum of Art and a member of the board of the Kansas City Symphony. He is also a board member of the Eisenhower Foundation, the American Royal Association, the Midwest Research Institute and the Greater Kansas City Community Foundation. In 1972, the Chamber of Commerce named him "Mr. Kansas City," the city's highest honor.

HENRY KAUFMAN, Chairman of the Board of the Institute of International Education, is President of Henry Kaufman & Company, Inc., a firm specializing in economic and financial consulting and in investment management. Previously, he was with Salomon Brothers Inc. as Managing Director, Member of the Executive Committee, and in charge of the firm's four research departments. He was also a Vice Chairman of the parent company, Salomon Inc. Mr. Kaufman serves of the board of the Whitney Museum of Art, the United Nations Association, Tel-Aviv University, and the Animal Medical Center, and is Chairman of the Board of Overseers of the Schools of Business of New York University.

THOMAS H. KEAN has been President of Drew University since 1990. Before assuming the stewardship of Drew, he was Governor of New Jersey from 1981 to 1990. He gained national recognition as the "Education Governor" by prompting nearly forty reforms to the state's public school system and by increasing the autonomy of the state colleges. Governor Kean is on the board of directors of Bell Atlantic and Beneficial. He is also on the board of the National Association of Independent Colleges and Universities; the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation; VOLUNTEER, The National Center; the American Paralysis Association; and the Columbia University Teachers College. He is Chairman of the New American Schools Development Corporation.

DAVID T. KEARNS is Deputy Secretary of Education and advises the Secretary of Education on all major program and management issues. In addition, he oversees the daily operations of the Education Department. Prior to joining the Department of Education, Mr. Kearns was chairman of the Xerox Corporation, Stamford, Connecticut. He is a member of the President's Education Policy Advisory Committee, the Business Council, the Council on Foreign Relations, and the American Philosophical Society. He is a former member of the board of directors of Chase Manhattan Corporation, Time Warner Inc., Ryder System, Inc., and the Dayton Hudson Corporation. He also served as a member of the board of trustees of The Ford Foundation, Chairman of the National Urban League, Chairman of the University of Rochester, and Chairman of Junior Achievement.

DONALD M. KENDALL is co-founder of PepsiCo, Inc. and was its Chief Executive Officer for more than two decades before his retirement in 1986. He served on the PepsiCo Board of Directors as Chairman of the Executive Committee until May 1991. He is on the board of directors of the Atlantic Richfield Company, Investor's Diversified Services Mutual Fund Group, ALPAC and ORVIS. Mr. Kendall is Chairman of the Institute for East-West Security Studies and is also a trustee of the New York Philharmonic and a member of the board of directors of the National Park Foundation. He has served as chairman of the National Alliance of Businessmen, US-USSR Trade and Economic Council, Emergency Committee for American Trade, U.S. Chamber of Commerce, National Center for Resource Recovery, and the American Ballet Theatre Foundation. He received the George F. Kennan Award in 1989 for his contribution to improving U.S.-Soviet relations.

WILLIAM H. LUERS has been President of The Metropolitan Museum of Art since 1986. Formerly, he served as Ambassador to Czechoslovakia and Ambassador to Venezuela. As a member of the Foreign Service from 1957-86, he has also lived in Italy, Germany, and the Soviet Union. He is on the board of directors of Transco Energy Company, IDEX Corporation, Discount Corporation of New York, and Scudder New Europe Fund. He is also a trustee or director of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, American Academy of Diplomacy, The Salzburg Seminar, International Research and Exchanges Board, Institute for East-West Security Studies, Appeal of the Conscience Foundation, School of International and Public Affairs, Columbia University and the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University. Mr. Luers has written extensively for

newspapers and magazines on the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, on East/West relations and on Latin America.

LUIS MONREAL, former director of the Getty Conservation Institute in Los Angeles, is currently director of the Obra Social y Cultural de la Caixa d'Estalvis i Pensions de Barcelona. La Caixa is a new Spanish cultural fund which will encompass more than one hundred cultural centers, approximately one hundred libraries, programs for travelling exhibitions and several galleries. Prior to directing the Getty Conservation Institute, he was the general secretary of the International Council of Museums, the branch of UNESCO responsible for promoting international cultural cooperation.

BENNO C. SCHMIDT, JR. became the twentieth President of Yale University in 1986. He is a legal scholar who specializes in constitutional law, the history of the Supreme Court, and American law concerning mass communications. Prior to coming to Yale, he was professor of law at Columbia University and Dean of the Columbia University Law School from 1984 to 1986. At Columbia, Mr. Schmidt focused on constitutional law, primarily in the area of First Amendment issues and the history of race relations in American law. He has served as moderator for the PBS series on "The Constitution: That Delicate Balance" and for a similar series in Great Britain. Mr. Schmidt is also a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, the New York Science and Policy Association and Director of the National Humanities Center.

GEORGE SOROS is the President of Soros Fund Management, New York, and Chief Investment Advisor of Quantum Fund, N. V., a $2 billion international investment fund. He has established foundations in Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union and the Baltic states. He is the founder of the Central European University in Budapest, Hungary and Prague, Czechoslovakia. Mr. Soros is the author of *The Alchemy of Finance, Opening the Soviet System,* and *Underwriting Democracy.*

JAMES D. WOLFENSOHN is chairman of the Board of Trustees on the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts, and President of James D. Wolfensohn Incorporated. He has had extensive professional experience in investment banking and corporate finance as an executive partner of Salomon Brothers; executive deputy chairman and principal executive officer of Schroders Limited, London; president and chief executive officer of J. Henry Schroder Banking Corporation and Schroder Trust Company, New York, and managing director of Darling & Company, Australia. His public interest and volunteer efforts include his work as chairman of the board of Carnegie Hall Corporation, chairman of the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton and trustee of the Brookings Institution. Mr. Wolfensohn is a member of the President's Committee on the Arts and the Humanities.

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